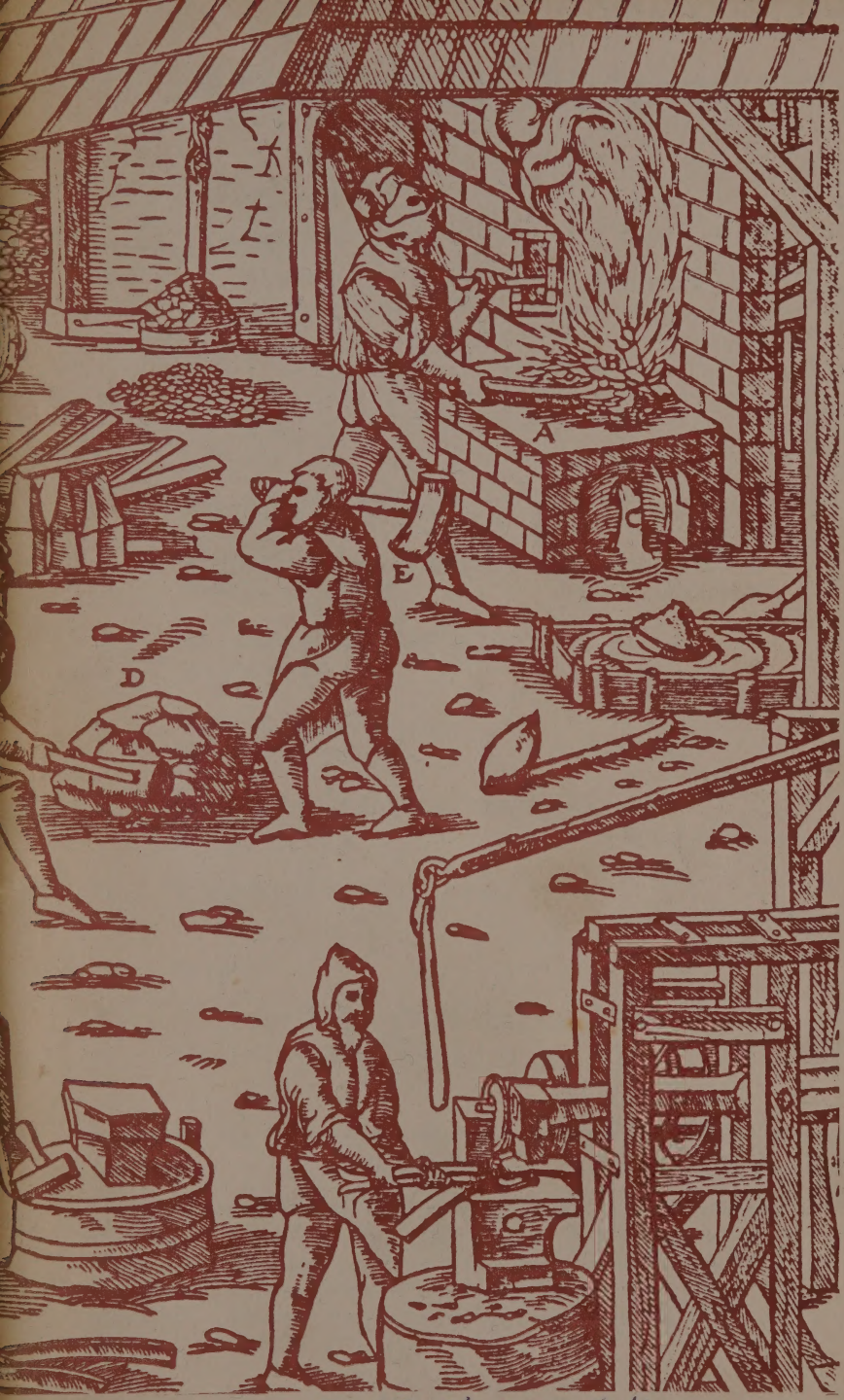
Ryedale Historian



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Number 6 April 1972

The Ryedale Historian

A Periodical Publication
by the
Helmsley & District
Archaeological Society

Number Six April 1972

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COVER:

Our cover reproduces a 16th Century engraving of iron-workers smelting (from Agricola, De Re Metallica). At the top a smith is tending the bloom-hearth (A), with slag draining from the vent (C). The two men in the middle are hammering the caked slag off an iron-bloom (D). At the bottom a powered hammer is beating out an iron bar.

Editorial

First question: why should this publication print an article about one of the windows in York Minster? Two reasons: Mr. Lazenby, retired master glazier of the Minster, gave us a fascinating talk recently and we are delighted to record this post-script to it; and the donors of the St. William window were of course the medieval lords of the Helmsley manors.

Second question: is the editor so hard up for material that he has to fill a large proportion of this issue with an article by one of his own children? No. The article stands on its own merits. It won a major prize in the annual Ampleforth College essay/project competition, and it was Mr. A. L. Pacitto who, after reading it, discouraged the editor from the more drastic cuts he had planned to make. In fact, as a sample of the sort of useful research which one does not have to be a trained archaeologist to carry out, and for which there is wide scope in this area, we hope that this survey of early iron-working sites may encourage other potential contributors of comparatively tender years. The editor is always glad to consider articles from any age-group, provided they are the product of original work based on the Ryedale and North Yorkshire Moors area.

The rest of this editorial shall be brief. But a word of valediction is due to two ladies who have wrought (dare one say?) more than manfully for the Helmsley Archaeological Society. Mrs. Theresa Allenby surrendered the secretaryship after a memorable ten years' stint, during which the Society waxed in numbers, funds, and the variety and quality of its lectures. We were at a loss as to how to replace her when Mrs. Molly Squires stepped nobly into the breach and took on the task in addition to her already considerable commitments. But even as this editorial is being written, removal vans are bearing off the lares et penates of the Squires family to Horsforth, where her husband David, lately headmaster of Ryedale School and another sore loss to the district, is taking over a new school in the spring. We record our gratitude to both ladies, and are content at least that Mrs. Allenby is still in our midst. And after all even Horsforth is not as far away as some of our furthest-flung membership.

Lastly, it is good to record that after briefly severing our connexion with our parent society, the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, which found itself obliged to make new, and for us impracticable, conditions for its member Groups, we are to everybody's content re-linked as an affiliated Society. Perhaps, in the twenty-second year of our existence, we may regard it as an appropriate coming-of-age, and face cheerfully the extra responsibilities this may bring.

JOHN McDONNELL
(1 Church Street, Helmsley, York)

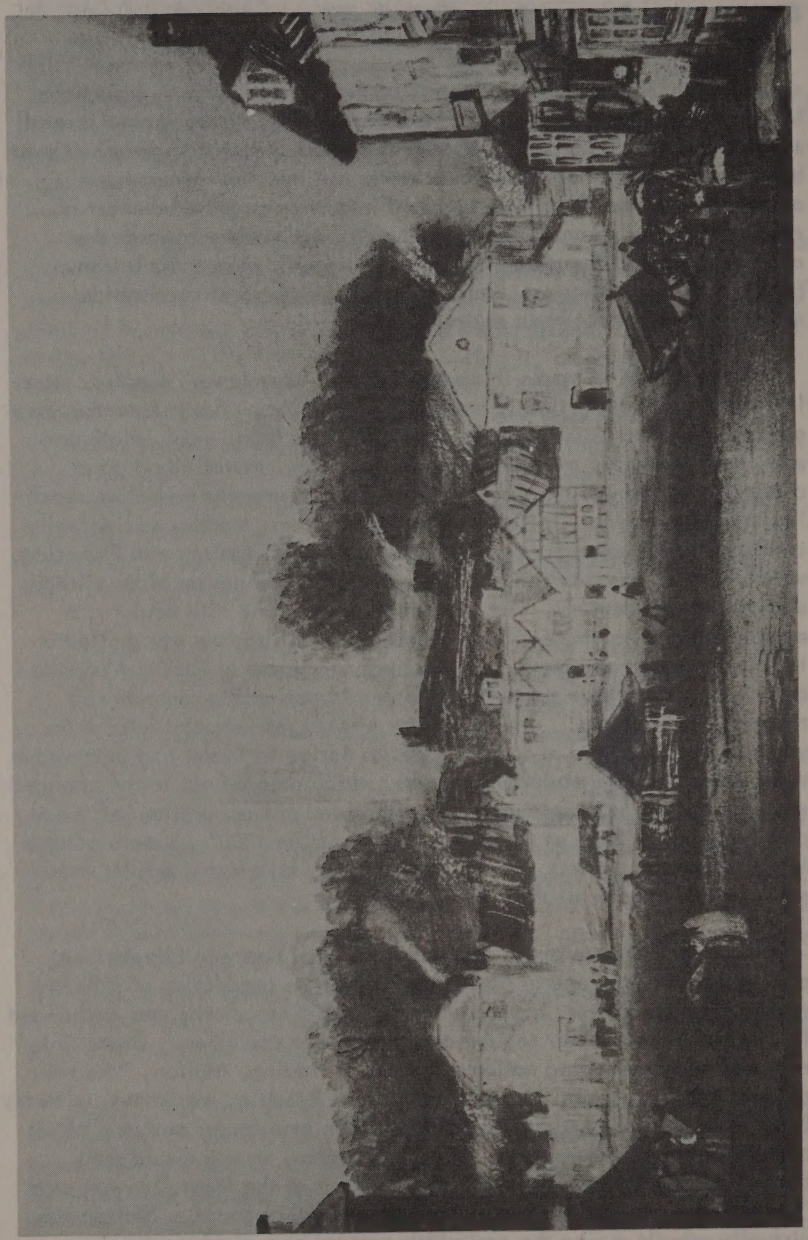
Shopping in Old Ryedale

by J. H. Rushton

If Britain ever became a "nation of shopkeepers" it was during the long reign of Queen Victoria. Even rural Ryedale experienced a retail revolution, which made the old market centres busier than they had ever been before, took shops from these towns out into the villages and carried the commodities that they sold into unprecedented number of country homes. Even after the collapse of agriculture towards the century's end and the precipitate decline in village and market town populations that followed, there remained a pattern of countryside retailing that has not been entirely supplanted.

The distributive trades in mediaeval days were fewer, simpler, more localised and closely tied to workshop production. Apart from the more organised systems handling such commodities as lead, wool, cloth and salt, most products, even iron, leather and furs, travelled no great distance and through no elaborate system of intermediaries before reaching their consumers. Initially, in Norman times, trading was virtually confined to the borough towns, locally Helmsley, Malton and Pickering, where burghal communities had been developed alongside older villages during the 12th century. As population grew in the 13th century, a more scattered system of village-market and fair trading was grafted on to this earlier arrangement. It was most successful at Kirkby Moorside and Hovingham whose markets had viable hinterlands comparable to those of the boroughs. The other new weekly markets and fairs of the years 1250-1350, held at such villages as Barton le Street and Stonegrave were probably mere mushroom growths, which petered out in the changed days thereafter, when plague stalked the land and population settled at a lower level. Even at their peak in the earlier 1300's, a mere scattering of chapmen, carters, merchants, mercers, salters and spicers were sufficient to handle all their local trade.

Rural demand rose again as population grew between Elizabethen and Victorian times and as an increased Ryedale production of saleable goods, leather, butter, hams and bacon, and linen cloth, was exchanged for the products of other regions and even other countries. Drawn into regional and developing national systems of trading, Malton, "the town of meal and malt", and virtually the port of Ryedale, was known to Henry Best for its market in wheat, maslin and farm implements and as a better barley market than Beverley. Like Bridlington, its ale would soon become known far afield, as the development of the River Derwent as a 'navigation' reduced the cost of transport of bulky goods. Malton was virtually rebuilt during the early 18th century as a district emporium, its sloops bringing from Hull the French and Portuguese wines, Dutch, French and West Riding woollen cloths and London groceries in exchange for the hides, linen, butter and malt sent out. Even Hovingham gained a purpose-built shop in the late 17th century and renewed its market charter in 1740.



Half-tone plate: Helmsley market-place at the beginning of the 19th century. From a water-colour in the possession of Mr. J. Rivis.

Malton's local pre-eminence, established by a navigation, was not to be challenged when this was later replaced by railways and eventually roads. Similarly, Helmsley, Kirkby Moorside and Hovingham within Ryedale retained the edge as retail centres that the middle ages had given them. Only Slingsby and Nunnington, after 1850, ever looked like developing a number of shops comparable with Hovingham. Up to that date, most other villages had never a shop at all other than the "workshop" of smith and joiner, tailor and weaver, the butcher's yard and the public house. Many goods still passed directly from local maker to local user. Other irregular purchases were sought in the shops, or the open market stalls that in large number still supplanted them, at Kirkby's Wednesday market, the Saturday markets at Helmsley and Malton or at the more variously placed surviving local fairs, such as that at Coxwold known for pewter and hardware, Helmsley's for linen and woollen cloth or Malton Fair for brass, pewter and smallware.

2. THE CONSUMER

Many people bought very little at all and of that a low proportion came via the retail shop. Town shops were largely devoted to meeting the needs of the small affluent and middling section of the populace. Their expansion in number and their rising living standards, locally to a great extent a consequence of the inclosures in agriculture, were the main basis of the Victorian retail revolution but, at least in the good years, others in varying degrees shared their improvement. Shop account books of Regency date show that even at that time a village store could survive by combining the demands of the great house with the infrequent purchases of a larger more humble clientele. Similar local evidence for a town shop relying solely on general purchasers and without a wealthy connection, shows a shopkeeper sinking into poverty in the post-Napoleonic-War depression.(1)

The age of Victoria was not altogether different. It was punctuated by long periods of local distress and from the seventies onwards saw a massive, persistent and essential emigration. Even so, for those who stayed, there was often more than a mere sense of progress. Quarterly wheat price averages dropped from 57/4 to 50/5 a quarter between 1824 and 1860 in the North Riding while agricultural wages moved upwards from 10/3 to 13/6. In the eighties wages rose to 16/6, while corn fell to 44/- and later 28/5 but this cut the heart out of local farming, the corn area was restricted and the rural exodus began.

The shopping needs of a working man's family in 1841 are clearly shown by the unusual account kept by John Allen, an agricultural labourer of Bolton Percy, near York. During eight weeks of March and April, he, his wife and elder boy, received a total of £9.0.6 in

wages. To sustain the seven members of his family, he paid rent of £2.0.0 and 2s.6d. for children's schooling. Farm purchases included milk 6/-, butter 1/9, "tatoes 8/5" and eggs 9d. From the butcher came "meat and leather" 10/11, and 12 lbs. bacon for 6/6. Grocery embraced only tea 1/11; coffee 2/11; senna and salts 7d; sugar 6/7½; salt 2d, treacle 6d, brimstone 2d. There were also candles at 2/5½ and soap 2/6½, a brush 1/-, cotton 1/-, worsted 2/- and tape 3½d. That was all! Spending through the rest of the year showed little change, bar such occasional purchases as a few coals, a man's hat 7/-, getting shoes made 4/-, 7½ yards of blue print, small quantities of pepper, and black "corrans" and a 4d pair of braces. In any one week, some six or seven purchases were made.(2)

The regular meatless weeks of this family were not mirrored in the experience of those drawn from other social classes. Income differences were wide and gentry household accounts mirror such differences. Allen kept his family for a week on less than the cost of a pair of long Wellington Boots bought by a Pickering gentleman, but there was nothing novel in that. What was to change was the size of the middling groups between these two extremes, who were now doing better than before, and who covered their backs, stocked their houses and filled their stomachs with the products of the industrial revolution. The tenant farmer, so often the real beneficiary of the inclosure movement, often by mid-century already had his long case clock, hair-seated mahogany chairs, swing-glasses on the dressing table and a great marble topped wash-stand complete with bowl, gallon-size water-jug, soap-dishes, tooth-glasses and tiled splashback, a monument to a nightly ritual that kept "cleanliness next to Godliness". When Mr. John Hart, the Beadlam chairmaker was about to emigrate, he sold his feather beds and bedsteads, 6 mahogany chairs, mahogany desk and dressing table, 36 other chairs, clock, corner cupboard and three tables. Such a Victorian craftsman or farmer often had more accoutrements in his house and yard than a Georgian gentleman or esquire, as a study of sale notices soon makes clear. In 1891 a Pickering wheelwright's monthly groceries included lard, sugar, tea, currants, peel, candles, bacon, plums, rice, raisins, yeast, blacking, baking powder, and Bryant and May's Ruby matches ("non-poisonous, noiseless and of finest Canada pine").(3)

3. THE GENERAL STORES

The shop was the channel through which new commodities, and old commodities newly available, reached this eager public. To handle them, new specialists emerged at the market towns. The exotic, the expensive, the infrequently demanded and highly specialised products were only to be found in the towns but the range of goods available at village stores became very considerable and a large investment might

be tied up in stocks. Even at Malton, Kirkby Moorside and Helmsley, alongside such new speciality dealers as those handling fancy goods, toys, sports goods, books, guns, or glass and china, the general store - half grocer, half draper, and with fingers in a dozen other pies - remained prominent among the largest establishments. A few of Malton's grocers were not drapers as well but William Atkinson, the grocer and draper at Helmsley in 1840, was to see his sons William and Tom, at the Church Street warehouse, develop an impressive wholesale and retail trade in grocery, tea dealing, as tobacconists, manure, cake and agricultural, garden and flower-seed merchants, as ham and bacon factors, flour, fruit, provision and potato dealers. The firm supplied Gilbey's and British wines, made their own aerated waters and at the Bowling Green Stores bottled Bass's ale and Guinness's stouts.

Similarly William Atkinson, Robert Barker, John and Thomas Barker, George and William Wood Bentley, also a druggist and Simon Hutchinson were Helmsley's grocer-drapers of 1840. Old Simeon Hutchinson had been one of the pioneers, his warehouse the focus of a considerable wholesale trade during the Regency. Back in 1797, he had been presented at the Manor Court for allowing his tar barrels and casks to encroach the footpath and road outside his stores. His will of 1807, mentions his good friends - the large-scale Whitby grocer George Sanders, Henry Tuke of York and William Rowntree of Risebrough as trustees. The old Quaker left his newbuilt Castle Rowe mansion, as well as several houses he had lately bought at Nawton. Money bequests to his daughters Esther and Dorothy were conditional on their continuing to help in the shops. (4)

Kirkby Moorside's grocer-drapers early in the 19th century included Joseph Ainsley, John Lumley (also a druggist), Thomas More, Thomas Sowray, William Hugill, Charles Saint and 'Cole and Brown' in the Market Place. George Jackson in Piercey End was also a tallow chandler. George Frank's Market Place business also embraced hats, drugs, fertilizers and seeds, while Nicholas Hill had a good general business at West End. When Mr. Brown's Market Place shop was sold in 1846, with his Tinley Lane house, it was said to have "commanded the most respectable trade of the neighbourhood for the last 80 years" in hats, seeds, drapery and grocery.

In the villages, once a shop was established, there was every pressure for it to trade in as wide a variety of products as possible, since anything offered was cheaper by the cost of transport than goods at the market town. Most village stores did not begin till the middle years of the century. To the best of our knowledge, there were some 13 butchers, 29 joiners, carters and wheelwrights, 12 mills, 34 smiths, 16 shoemakers, 3 saddlers, 5 tailors, a coal merchant, a baker, a plumber and glazier in Ryedale "outside" Kirkby Moorside, Helmsley

and Malton in 1840. Of what we might understand by shops, there were merely 13 general shops, 1 earthenware dealer, 1 draper and hatter and 1 grocer and draper in all the villages, and a number of these were concentrated at Hovingham. By 1890, the picture had changed. In the same areas, there were 12 butchers, 40 joiners, 17 mills, 30 smiths, 28 shoemakers, 3 saddlers, 16 tailors, 2 coal merchants, and one plumber. Instead of 16 shops, there were 19 grocers, 2 butchers and grocers, 2 flour dealers, 1 tea dealer, 1 shoemaker and grocer, 2 smiths and grocers, 16 tailors, drapers and grocers, 4 provision dealers, 2 joiners and grocers. There were 5 general shops, 7 dressmakers, a corset maker, 5 tailors and drapers, 1 draper, a shoemaker and fruiterer, 2 painters, 4 hucksters, a watchmaker, a herbalist, an ironmonger, a jewellery dealer, and a birdstuffer in the villages of Ryedale, quite apart from any growth in the three market towns. At one village - Ampleforth - Thompson's grocery and bakery was founded in 1860 and Douglas's grocery in 1854.

General trading in a multiplicity of lines became the well remembered characteristic of the village shop; its counters, shelves, floor and rear living and sleeping quarters stacked high with baskets, casks, sacks and boxes, the whole merging to give each shop a distinctive and not easily forgotten odour. Such a shop could become a social focus, a newsroom, a centre of village activity, even a fount of credit in hard times, under a sympathetic shopkeeper. Some deserved to be better remembered. Mr. Fairlamb at Salton, besides selling his groceries, pens and ink, patent medicines and shoelaces, was a market gardener, fruiterer and postmaster. In his own time, he painted in oils and was a talented woodcarver. He played the organ at Church in the morning and the harmonium at the Methodist Chapel at night.(5) Mrs. Goodwill, 44 years postmistress at Sinnington, was sufficiently appreciated to be presented with a purse of gold and a timepiece by her customers in 1892.

4. THE GROCERS

General trading was also fostered as national wholesalers and manufacturers, particularly in grocery, sought large numbers of outlets for their products - increasingly mass-produced. As the market expanded, the dignified award of an agency gave way to a hard scrabble for trade. In the first edition of the Malton and Norton Gazette and General Advertiser, June 30, 1855, Arkwright Bros. of London "Begged respectfully to inform the inhabitants of Malton and its vicinity that they had appointed Johnson Bros., wholesale and retail tea dealers, sole agents for the sale of their fine Arabian mountain berry coffee". By 1868, Ellerby & Co. advertised inviting agencies, as the tea duty was reduced and a fall of 6d in the pound automatically widened their potential market. Mr. Dawson at Gilling, Hartley and Bartliff at Malton and a Pickering bookseller were already stocking it. The age

of the tea clippers and the use of tea plantations in Java and Ceylon as rivals to Assam and India made tea cheaper in the sixties but it was not till 1884 with the advent of Mazawattee and 1890 with Sir Thomas Lipton's drive to get "Ceylon tea to the masses" that consumption began to become considerable. By 1900 some 6 lb per person was being consumed each year, and the substance had given its name to a daily meal.

For such commodities as tea and coffee, the grocer retained important processing functions which have now been lost to him. Ellerby's in 1868 already offered brands, some of which were blended, such as their rich breakfast Kaison Congou at 2/10 a lb, the delicious lapsang souchong at 3/3, in 1 lb, half lb, and quarter lb packets, and coffees nos. 1 and 2 at 2/4 and 2/8 a lb respectively. Pre-packaging held the future but many grocers received their tea and coffee in chests, and themselves broke bulk, prepared personal blends or transferred national blends to smaller casks and packets marked with their own or a distributor's name. Probably until the end of the century, even more tea was sold in small twists of paper loose from the chest, but in the fifties Horniman's was only available in packets. John Cassell's local agents - Taylor's at Malton, draper H. Moore at Hovingham, draper E. Strickland at Kirkby Moorside and draper N. Betts at Helmsley Market Place - sold their coffee from bulk at 1/- and 1/8 a lb in 1856.

Thomas Taylor of Castlegate, Malton "respectfully called the attention of the public of Malton" to the method he had adopted for roasting coffee, "a method so entirely novel that it is the first time since coffee was known by which coffee is roasted before the fire, uncontaminated by a metallic cylindrical covering". In his view this avoided the noxious vapours of the coke, allowed the watery acids in the green coffee to pass off, and avoided the absorption of sulphur fumes and the acquistion of a rank taste from the steam.

Breaking bulk and repacking and wrapping were important over a wide range of the groceries. Great treacle casks stood in the rear of the shops. The grocer at West Heslerton spilt one in the street once on an occasion that greatly delighted the children. Huge sugar loaves had to be broken up, and not only the local cheese but now the rail-borne varieties of Cheshire, Stilton, Double Gloucester, Derbyshire, Wiltshire and even Holland. Other shops were virtual manufactories, making aerated water in the rear yard, making baking powder, and curing hams. Others kept a drapery manufacture as a sideline. David Trueman at Piercey End, Kirkby Moorside, in 1867 was a grocer and lacemaker, while William Sonley at West End combined glovemaking with tea dealing.

The Stores at Nawton in Ryedale was almost as general in scope.

Its proprietor in 1895, Mr. Matson, kept British and Foreign wines, Lipton's and Brooke Bond's packet teas. He cured his own hams and sides of English bacon on the premises and rendered down lard which he offered in every size of package - 7, 14 and 28 lb zinc buckets, 28 lb wood buckets, 14, 28 and 56 lb blocks and 112 lb cases. He made his own baking powder and boldly advertised "anything you want, cheap". When George Simpson took over early in the 20th century, the shop was full of all sorts, teas, groceries, provisions, flour, bran and maize, brushes, ladies', gents' and children's boots, a huge stock of corsets, umbrellas, blankets, counterpanes and sheets. There were ties and collars, coconut mattings and lace cuttings. What you couldn't get here, you could get at Harriett Jackson's, the Nawton ironmonger and hardware dealer.

It was left to the market town grocer, like H. Hill of Railway Street, Kirkby, to rise to the dizzy heights of "Italian Warehouseman", to deal in the more exotic and luxury goods of the "high class trade". Beer and beef, spicecakes and ale, were the treats of the working man but come Christmas time, Taylor's at Malton could provide French crystallised and dried fruits "in pretty boxes", eleme figs, lemons, Brazil nuts, preserved Chinese ginger, oranges at 1/- a dozen and Whitby gingerbread. Huntley and Palmer's and Carr's fancy biscuits in great tins lined the buying area along with Hill and Jones' brown meal digestives and the flours of the Malton Biscuit Company.

The future lay with the firms whose real or artificially distinguished proprietary brands could build up an allegiance among the buying public. Robert Wavien's easy-shine jet boot blacking, sold by Atkinson of Kirkby Moorside, in bottle and paste form at 6d - 1/6 in 1822, was an early national success. Brown and Polson's patent cornflour, available in 1863 at 8d a packet and 1/- a tin, was another. Malton Messenger readers were offered a free sample, one of the first give-aways, of Dr. Tibble's Vi-cocoa in 1898, very dainty and postpaid. Normally it was available from "all respectable chemists and stores", including Abraham Altham (Ltd.) at Malton Market Place; R. & J. Hugill at Helmsley; J. Sherwood there; Garbutt and Son, West End; and Henry Hill, Railway Street, Kirkby Moorside, in 6d and 9d packets and 1/- tins.

Soaps in those days, like our own, were highly susceptible to heavy advertising. One of the largest sections at the great exhibition of 1851 had been devoted to soaps and perfumes. Among 727 exhibitors, such names as Knight, Gibb's and Yardley were already well established. Further back still, in 1789, Andrew Pears had invented his transparent soap, and Pears with "Bubbles" were to pioneer prestige advertising. In another tradition, there were already toilet waters with such grand names as "Miss in her Teens". Another Victorian success was Rowland's

Macassar Oil. It replaced "Bear's Grease" as a hair oil and called into being the anti-macassar. Gladstone repealed the soap tax in 1853, just when baths and "cleanliness" were becoming popular, giving another stimulus to many such commodities.

5. TAILORS AND DRAPERS

The cloth and clothing trades saw no lesser changes. The 18th century had already seen the products of West Riding clothiers find their way into the local market. The early years of the 19th century saw the gradual extinction of the local linen industry. Between 1823 and 1840, the Pickering worsted and linen manufactory closed, along with the bleaching ground at Costa Mill. Kirkby Moorside, which had been full of flaxdressers, and weavers in the 1780's had very few in 1823, while both Gill's linen manufactory at Piercey End and Caleb Fletcher's flax spinning manufactory at Keldholme seem to have closed before 1840, under the competition from the machine factories of the industrial districts. Now West Riding and Manchester cloths dominated the market.

The situation at the opening of the century was well illustrated by the range of cloths brough by Haydn, the London wholesaler, to the Chapter House Coffee House at York in 1802. The newest pattern prints included India Muslins of book jaconet, striped, checked and sprigged, all at very low prices and "of a curious quality", at 10-20% below manufacturer's prices. He had elegant colonnade dresses, Scotch muslins, cambric muslins, French and Scotch cambric for pocket handkerchiefs, muslin shawls 1/6 to 14/6, calico from 9d a yard, dimity, 10,000 yards of Irish Linen, Suffolk hemp and housewife cloth, white Marseilles quilts, English, Brussels and Valenciennes lace and edging, swansdown and quilting for waistcoats, and plated and gilt buttons. Here, for the Regency buck and the bonneted high-waisted lady, were the fashionably new materials, the new colours and the rich foreign cloths made available by the inventions of the previous 50 years.

As the new English cloths were made cheaper, so fashion became a factor in the lives of a much wider group of people, previously unaffected by it. Insofar as fashion in any field committed consumers to abandoning commodities before they were outworn, solely to keep up with the next fashion, it fostered further demand and created a vigorous market of hand-me-downs. By mid-century, the proprietors of many local drapers and outfitters would annually announce their return from buying at Manchester, Bradford, Huddersfield or Leeds. J. Atkinson of Helmsley Market Place came back "replete with a new stock of fashionable goods for the coming season" in 1855, including dresses, mantles, shawls, furs and ribbons. Nathaniel Betts, the next year, drew attention to his "splendid stock of fashionable woollens, which is now replete with

every novelty for the season, consisting of West of England broadcloths and doeskins, Yorkshire tweeds, doeskins and hairlines". Mr. Smith in 1859 had fancy trouserings and waistcoatings, velveteens, fustians, cantoons and drabbets, silk and cotton handkerchiefs, ginghams and prints. Thomas Leathley of Church Street was "replete with all the most fashionable goods for the coming season".

The commitment to fashion was gradual but definite, especially among women. Some could only attain it with their "Sunday best" or when "walking out", but even those of modest means soon learnt that industry with the needle and quite modest purchases of such accessories as bonnet ribbons or lace could achieve a great deal. A more total commitment could be extremely expensive, extending to the latest prints, the latest shape of shawl, mantle or parasol. Certainly some were so committed, for Helmsley's shops offered the Norwich poplins, checked challies, Wallachian checks and muslins of 1854, with the long cashmere shawls and the novelty mantles of that year. Two years later the "fashionable Bernous mantle and double skirtrobe" and flounced dresses were locally available.

Though many people spent much of their time in varieties of "occupational costume", at other times, at least for church or chapel parade, they could produce something fashionable by the time of the photographing mania of the second half of the century. That even the more extreme vagaries of fashion's decrees were not absent from the district may be evidenced by this contribution sent to the local newspaper of 1856, commenting on the crinoline.

"Kitty, I'd press you to my heart
Did I not plainly see
There's too much cotton, whalebone, lace,
'Tween you and me.
I'd only muss the dry goods up,
And make you blubber, pout and frown,
Besides, I might-oh, sad mischance-
Break whalebones down!
Farewell, I'll pray when next we meet,
And meet we may, if fashions change,
At least that we may come within
Good talking range".(6)

Most clothing, even that of the photographs, was made up at home but the number of tailors and dressmakers was on the increase and some town establishments produced "tailor-mades" in quantity. The natural extension - the ready-made - was in existence by 1855 in Malton, where Samuel Ward of Yorkersgate clained the largest stock of ready made clothing in Malton.

In the next year Nathaniel Betts at Helmsley put his son in charge of his new bespoke department. Even such established tailors as Matthew Simpson of Nunnington took care to obtain patterns "in the latest style of fashion" for his locally-made Alexandra habit at 2/6, Oxford morning coats, Albert Edward jackets, summer paletots, surtout overcoats and 2/- knicker-bocker suits.

Large staffs of "reliable workmen" were kept active well into the 20th century at such emporia as Kirkby Moorside's "Manchester House", established by William Richardson in 1861, and George Hill's "London House", founded there in 1866 as a tailor's, draper's and outfitter's. The development of both local and distant tailoring was fostered by the advent of chain and lock-stitch sewing machines in 1858 and 1860. But the "ready-mades" would ultimately come out the victors. William Snow of Malton's Butcher Corner, one of the largest local dressmaking, carpet, drapery, clothing, millinery and household furnishing stores of the district, was ironically an early dealer in sewing machines.

6. THE CHEMIST AND DRUGGIST

Peculiarly susceptible to some of the more extreme forms of advertising were the new products of the chemist and druggist. There were four such shops at Malton and one each at Helmsley and Kirkby Moorside as early as 1823. They failed to command the whole trade, since patent medicines were sold by all and sundry, including travelling vendors, but these shops were close to the homes of the dale's physicians and surgeons. Only Lastingham, adjacent to the Rosedale mines, Hovingham, with its medicinal spa, and later Slingsby also had settled doctors. A bill of Kirkby Moorside doctor Thomas Harrison, sent to James Cattle, illustrates his reliance on the local druggist. In an account delivered to cover the entire period December 3rd 1828 to January 5th 1831, for £1.10.10, charges were made for draughts - 1/-, mixtures 2/-, senna leaves 3d, plaster and lint 4d, cough drops 3d, vaccination 2/6, powders 1/6, elixir 1/6, gargle 1/6, a box of pills "for the Mrs." 1/6, peppermint water 3d, embrocation 1/3 and attendance in labour 10/6. Similarly, John Welburn of Kirkby paid for his cardiac mixture, spirits of hartshorn, aperient electuary, febrile mixture, carminative mixture, balsam and the anodyne draught.(4)

Advertising claims for some of the elixirs appear funny in retrospect but in the context of their own time were often tragic. A great many claimed to be 'specifics' but few were. Contents were largely unverifiable even for the profession, though some clarification began with the production of the British Pharmacopoeia in 1858. Meanwhile, Kay Worsdell's Vegetable Pills, which "had cured thousands whose complaints were considered beyond hope" was urged as especially suited to ague, asthma, bilious attacks, chest affections, dropsy, diarrhoea, eruptions, fever, flatulency, general debility, gout, gravel, headache, indigestion,

influenza, liver diseases, piles, rheumatism, stomach complaints, sore legs, scrofula, ulcers and worms. Gurner's Head Pills would cure headache, melancholy, fearfulness, loss of memory, nervousness, lowness of spirits, dizziness in the head, imperfect sight, restless nights and frightful dreams, would relieve palpitation of the heart, sickness of the stomach and difficulty of breathing. They removed bile, acidities, heartburn and indigestion, purified the blood, and cleansed the skin of all eruptions. Restoring the entire system, they were advantageous for rheumatism and gout, only 1/6, 2/6 and 4/6 a box.

King's dandelion and quinine liver pills were almost as "efficacious". Moore's Cashmere quinine balm would "restore hair after years of baldness". Sidgwick at Hovingham had Garner's rheumatic mixture and Allenby at Helmsley offered, in 1860, Croskill's celebrated female pills to increase appetite and strengthen the system. Some local medicaments survived but mainly in the field of animal medicine. William Plumtree, the Kirkby chemist, sold "Mr. Sonley's footrot paste" and "Plumtree's preservatives for ewes after lambing" as well as the more generally known Cuff's Farmer's Friend. His improved sheepdip was advertised as warranted against tick, lice, fly and scab. One bottle of his "anti-neuralgic mixture" would cure "tic doloreux, toothache or pains in the face".

Perhaps it was in dentistry that the claims went furthest ahead of the reality. G. Wilson, the surgeon dentist of Hull, a regular caller at Malton, would provide "teeth of unrivalled beauty", he said, "without extracting the stumps or any other painful operation". They worked on the new self-adhesive principle so as to "restore the face to its former natural appearance". Mr. Moseley, another Saturday caller, claimed the royal appointment for his "terreous artificial teeth", "a perfect fit", securely fastened without the aid of any wire or spring, even acting to strengthen one's own natural teeth. It was a modest dentist who failed to claim that all could be achieved without any pain. Of no less a boon to their fellows were those travelling doctors who removed worms; but their advertising relied almost entirely on very full local signed testimonials of the results of their labours.

Just as a chemist like G. Peacock, and later John Burnett at the Tontine House, Kirkby Moorside, was also a supplier of seeds, paints and varnishes, aerated waters, wines and spirits and photographic requisites, so did Spiegelhalter & Son, the Yorkersgate, Malton, opticians who supplied Ryedale with spectacles, overlap in their display windows into a fascinating variety of telescopes, microscopes, sun-dials, aneroid and mercurial barometers, and eventually all sorts of clocks and jewellery. As early as 1859, the firm, supposedly established in 1767, was selling a new liquid called "petrolene" at

2/10 a gallon, but it was their main line - spectacles - which were the greatest boon to many people - a real rise in living standards.

Photographic goods and processes were a natural extension to the work of optician or chemist. J. E. Allenby, successor to Tom Pape at Helmsley was a pharmaceutical chemist and dealer in photographic apparatus, veterinary medicines and seeds. Among his less standard lines were his own "herb beer essence" of which a 6d bottle would make 8 gallons, and Coverdale's "Nitkill" which would cleanse a head for 6d. Besides stocking photographic plates, papers, cameras and films, he offered dark room facilities for tourists. The taking of photographs, however, became a separate 'profession'. There were a few short-lived ventures, M. Gutenberg's portrait gallery near Malton Railway Station, Kaim and Gouldier's Daguerrotype Gallery at the back of Finkle Street and M. Bankes' Colloidotype Room nearby, besides Eastham's Great National Photographic Portrait Gallery once weekly opposite the Town Hall in the fifties, but Mr. Boak of Malton, Elijah Todd of Helmsley, John Lumley of Kirkby and Wilson of Slingsby, established more permanent studios where you could be photographed against a changing scenario, of balustrade, fern, column and curtain, or later a rustic bridge, hammock or palm tree. The first arrival of the art at Kirkby Moorside was recorded one mid-Victorian July as "some very beautiful specimens of the photographic art" "recently exhibited here by Mr. James Dawson of this town".

7. CONSUMER DURABLES

Food is eaten, medicines taken and clothes soon wear out. Looking around us now we see more of those more durable Victorian consumer goods which flooded out from the factories to fill drawing and sitting rooms. As such survivals get fewer, they graduate from the jumble sale to the antique fayre. For a time, then, some of these things were locally made. Only the Commondale and Falsgrave potteries survived into the new century but several iron and brass foundries were locally active, and the ironmongers were still tinplate workers and braziers. Christopher Carter, Brass and Iron Founder of Kirkby Moorside, supplied garden chairs and doorstops as well as portable thrashing machines. R. Yates and Sons, Derwent Foundry at Malton brought coal and iron up the river to convert into fireplaces and ranges. Cast-iron and iron plate were virtually the plastics of the age, made into everything from conservatories to apple corers, electro-plated forks to bedsteads, all stocked by such enlarged ironmongeries as Cooper's at Kirkby, and Sturdy's at Helmsley.

Kitchen ranges were not common till the fifties, when as a combined fireplace, boiler and oven, they were locally produced in quantity, the back boiler added from about 1870 onwards. Waterclosets made

advances about the same time and running water-washstands with iron legs cast in any style, the more florid the better, were virtually mass-produced. The tinplateworker's greatest achievement was the bath. J. Moon, the Malton Gasfitter, by 1855 had the most impressive stock at his Bath Repository, as well as chandeliers, lamp brackets and geysers, another line of trade stimulated by the recent opening of local gasworks. He could offer on sale or hire, sponge, shower, hip or vapour baths, with instruction on how to use them - "charge the sponge with water and carry quickly to the back of the inclined head so that water will run down the spine and head". Disraeli used to have his wife pull the chain that operated his shower bath.

Household furniture and drapery saw no less a change and at an early date Thackray and Sons acquired the agency for the "Atom Suction Cleaning Machine", portable and noiseless, to remove every particle of dust. It looked like a tank. Rickaby's of Kirkby did a good trade in encaustic tiles, a boon to domestic servants. Walter Porritt's Ryedale Saw Mill and Steam Joinery Works at Kirkby and Yoadwath Mill, founded in 1867, specialised in portable outside structures, Summer houses, greenhouses and cucumber frames, claiming to be the largest makers of pigeon lofts in the world. Nawton and Kirkby were still a home of Windsor chair making - Lazarus Spink at Nawton was active in 1856 and Carr of Kirkby Moorside into the 80's. Each of the towns had its cabinet makers able to follow the national styles and Malton was a centre for upholstery.(4)

Mrs. J. Warriner's Helmsley Glass and China Warehouse claimed the "largest assortment in the North and East Ridings" in 1874, having enjoyed liberal support and patronage for some 30 years. After her annual visit to the principal houses she had such "novelties of the season" as splendid toilet services and hot water jugs, breakfast, tea and dessert services, and the latest in teapots. She hired out a large kettle holding 110 gallons for agricultural shows. Such commodities were later spread further afield by the Bazaar Companies. In 1898 "Your old friends, the 6½d International Bazaar Company" hired the Fleece Showroom for selling a hardware merchant's bankrupt stock. Ralph Jackson, a house and furniture painter, paper hanger, upholsterer and decorater had what he termed a 6½d bazaar at Ryegate, Helmsley. James Castitoni, a licenced hawker held an early bazaar at Mr. Harrison's Fairfax Inn at Gilling in March 1859, with a large variety and assortment of fancy goods.

8. THE DECAYING LOCAL WORKSHOP

Among the local industries which died but left behind a retail hang-over were the leather trades and clockmaking. Tanners at Helmsley, Malton, Kirkby and Gillamoor, many saddlers, and inumerable shoemakers

gave way to the boot and shoe dealer and repairer, and the purveyor of distantly made portmanteaux by the end of the century. Imported shoes available at Malton by 1850 ranged from Clarence and Balmoral Boots for men, sidespring and patent shoes for women, to goloshes, but in 1852, the shoemakers of the town were sufficiently numerous to form their own society to fix prices. Like their peers, the "knights of the needle" or tailors, they were viewed somewhat as workaday heroes and were the subject of many stories. One true story of 1855 concerned John Webster the Oswaldkirk shoemaker who went to Thirsk Cross to purchase a wife from W. Marshall of Wombleton, an example of the traditional form of working class divorce and remarriage at the time. Oldroyd's "Boot and Shoe Specialists" at Railway Street, Kirkby Moorside, later in the century, had a greater stock, with Calf Derby's at 12/6, boots 10/6 and clogs, but only did repairs on the premises. Mrs. Couper at Bridge Street, Helmsley, offered "K boots", "Norvic" and "anchor brand" football boots.

Clockmaking suffered as the traditional long-case clocks came under competition from the cheaper, less cumbersome clocks of Coventry, America, Birmingham and Germany. Prices fell from eight guineas to eight shillings. The blow fell between 1850 and 1860. Trenham's at Helmsley had made fine old clocks but were now confined to repairs. Soon F. Turnbull would offer boy's watches at 5/- and eight day striking clocks at 16/-. The trade was not what it once had been.

Hat-making was another casualty of the time, but survived well into the century. Associated with the old fur trade of the moor and wold warrens it had a long history at Pickering, Kirkby Moorside, Malton and Helmsley. James Burrowes, George Gill and Thomas Wainwright were still active at Kirkby in 1829 but the outstanding manufactory was that of John Smith at Helmsley. This hatmaker, draper, tallow chandler and co-founder of the Helmsley Gas Works offered French Silks in 1856 in the leading styles at 4/6, double satin and velvet hats 5/6, and a tourist hat, a low stiff taper-crowned hat for everyday wear at 2/-. A good church-going hat was 3/-. All were of his own making, as well as cloth and fancy caps for men and boys. He produced a light ventilating hat weighing $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz. and it was his boast that he could make any shape or difficult size at 24 hours notice. On market days he had a second shop in Kirkby tollbooth.

Among the new specialities, some were shortlived and others permanent. Whitby jet enjoyed a brief triumph, well geared to funereal fashion, brought from the workshops for sale at Smithson's of Malton, in 1856, two years after Isaac Greenbury's first order from a royal house. Local corset-making was a minor industry but the Mannings in the nineties could undercut the home maker with "H.S." and "Mary Anderson" corsets, persuasively advertised by an amazing damsel with a

waist half the width of her hips. Carte de Visite making gave a living to H. Bumby at Malton in the sixties as did umbrella repairing for Henry Ludlow at Kirkby. His forbears had made them too but now they came from Fox's at Sheffield, with section steel ribs instead of split cane or whalebone.

9. DELIVERING THE GOODS

The change in the carriage trade was important, not only as one sphere of high-quality local manufacture and retailing, but also because new forms of transport would alter the whole context of the distributive trades. The railways had helped foster market-town and village trading, but equally brought in the cheap products of distant manufacturers. Sidgwick and Leafe of Hovingham in 1856 offered delivery without charge of their guano, nitrate and cake, and the London Manure Company's superphosphate, to stations on the Malton-Thirsk line. Other forms of travel continued alongside the 'iron horse', sufficient to keep Thomas Barker of Helmsley and William Holliday and Robert Clark of Kirkby active as fine coach-builders into the nineties. J. Dowson ran a livery stable in Kirkby much used by commercial travellers touring the Vale, but it would not be long before he became a cycle and motor dealer, and Thompson of Ampleforth would offer "motor deliveries, free of charge".

Until that time, it was the age of the carrier. Sixty-two villages sent in carriers to Malton from as far afield as Bulmer, Driffield, Hutton and Brompton. These men often did the entire shopping for a village. William Fairlamb at Salton ran to Malton and Kirkby. At Malton 80 or 90 others jostled in the inn yards, left notes with shop apprentices for goods to be delivered to the wagons before departure-time and themselves decided which shops their villages should patronise. One carrier left Malton drunk and went 20 miles eastwards before he realised it. Another delivered a hamper with a goose to the wrong house at Welburn so they ate it.

Petrol-driven road vehicles came on the roads, hindered by the red-flag law until 1896. Thereafter Herbert Austin's Wolseley, F. W. Lancaster's horseless carriage and, by 1908, the mass-produced Ford Motor Company's model T, were occasionally to be seen. Thomas Butler in 1890 was an engineer and millwright in Helmsley Market Place. His successor Henry in 1905 was a cycle and motor maker. Soon he was hiring a Humber, with padded seats for four passengers and a great steering column. The Yorkshire Automobile Club had its first meeting at Helmsley in May 1907, filling the market place with horseless vehicles - a warning of things to come. Even earlier, the cycle, since 1860, had grown from a genteel craze to a national sport and then a daily necessity. In the distributive trades, it brought the delivery boy, a grateful beneficiary of Dunlop's pneumatic tyres, for whom distance was expected to be no great object. T. E. Dosser, the Slingsby cycle agent, in 1895 had pneumatic machines from £9 and would teach you to ride them "for free".

10. ADVERTISING

Changes in other forms of communication were no less influential. The spread of literacy by mid-century had created a public who could read. Repeal of the newspaper tax in 1855, the advertising duty in 1853 and the newsprint tax in 1861, allowed local newspapers (the Malton Gazette and the Malton Messenger) to emerge and grow, as notable media for advertising. Copies were expensive but were handed on, or seen in the newsrooms that proliferated in even quite small villages. National and local suppliers alike lauded their products in these pages, making price appeals, and puffing products in every imaginable way.

Medals won at International Exhibitions were featured. Colman's Mustard in 1878 at Paris had gained a Personal Cross of the Knight of the Legion of Honour. Patronage from the mighty was boasted of and testimonials flaunted. John Smith's Derby Clockworks offered a testimony from Lord Grimthorpe, designer of the Houses of Parliament clocks that "Smith at Derby will clock you in the best way and as near eternity as possible". Sewell of Malton offered farmer's testimonials from Oswaldkirk and South Holme. Pickering grocer Thomas Pape had his headed note paper supplied by the Patent Borax Company. Besides his own name and address it carried illustrated medals and on the reverse a long testimonial from an F.R.C.S. for the Company's disinfectants.

Several common themes have now been forgotten. The very real adulteration scares and fears before the passing of the Food and Drug Acts brought frequent statements of "unadulterated", "uncoloured" and even analytical descriptions. Instruction was sometimes offered in the use of a commodity. Epp's Cocoa, invented by a homoeopathic chemist in 1839, could be prepared this way - "Mix in a breakfast cup 2 teaspoonfuls of the powder with as much cold milk as will make a stiff paste, then fill up with boiling milk, or milk and water, or water".

An attractive eye-catcher was sometimes provided by attempts at verse - T. H. Thompson, newsagent, stationer and tobacconist who had "the only lending library in the village of Ampleforth" used this -

> "There is a pretty little place, located in the north
> And if you'd like to know its name, they call it Ampleforth".

T. Wray of Pickering offered strong working clothing for the "industrious classes" with the thought -

> "The fit is neat, the sewing strong,
> The cloth is good and will last long".

Many appeals were polite, and even obsequious. When James Wilson took the Harum shop he "begged to inform the inhabitants of Harum and the neighbourhood that he had commenced the tea business in all its branches and hopes by keeping the very best articles and offering them

on reasonable terms, to merit a share of public demand" and "respectfully solicits a trial". J. Wright, the Kirkby milliner, addressed you "Madam. Having returned from London, I have much pleasure in offering for your inspection a choice and well selected assortment of goods". Rather touching was the appeal of a Yorkersgate undertaker, thanking clients for "the liberal patronage he has received for his hearse and assuring them that every attention shall be paid to secure the comfort and convenience of those parties who favour him with their future commands".

A more taciturn approach was sometimes adopted to those lower down the social scale. During 1854, Sootheran of Malton offered "strong working clothing for the industrious man but nothing for the idle and lazy" and went on to deliver a long moral lecture at his own expense, its theme that idleness was the parent of evil intention. A different appeal came from Walter Oldroyd's Railway Street stores at Kirkby. Offering men's suits at 15/6, boy's sailor suits from 1/11 and Sunday boots at 5/11, in 1907, he explained that he had had such a good year that "he could dispense with profits for a few weeks". A change of approach was also implied when Furness's shop in the Kirkby Market Place was renamed "the American Stores" at some date before 1898. The best appeal of all was J. Matson's of Nawton: "These stores are the best known in Ryedale - always crammed full of goods and sold to the public at the lowest cash prices - the cheapest cash prices in Ryedale". Others may prefer H. Ludlow's bills from West End, Kirkby. He was, he said, "a tonsorial artist, a cranial manipulator, a capillary abridger, a facial operator", in other words a hairdresser. In the spirit of 1891, "hirsute appendages were adjusted with ambidextrous celerity".

Some advertising contained more serious information but this rarely amounted to the thorough guidance that was becoming necessary. Consumers were still virtually unprotected. The winter of the big bangs followed the first installations of kitchen range boilers. It was no easy matter to work Longbottom's Patent Hot Water Apparatus of 1856, M. Dodsworth of Malton's Patented Washing, Wringing and Mangling Machine (£6-10) of 1861, or the "Volmar" Washer, stocked by Yates in 1907, which would do a wash for 7 people in 2 hours with no hand rubbing required. Even more humble commodities were fraught with danger. A popular lecturer toured the district pointing out the disastrous consequences of intemperance and tightly laced stays - both campaigns vigorously taken up by Vicar Gray of Helmsley in his parish magazine.

The printing houses shared in the retail revolution and were among its main agents. Henry Smithson at Malton, bookseller, printer, stationer and book-binder, had met Dickens as a boy, and his shop was of that world, full of playing cards bearing moguls or highlanders, valentines, bibles and prayerbooks and much improving literature. Longfellow's poems cost 30/-. Parcels of newspapers and comic books

arrived daily from London. There were almanacs from Raphael or the Band of Hope, and every variety of discreet cards and stationery. From this printing house, like those at Kirkby and Helmsley, went out the ephemeral catalogues, handbills and posters which were the life-blood of local trade.

II. THE SHOP WAY OF LIFE

Many other changes, some poorly documented, affected most of the retail trades. Old prints of Malton Market Place show that by the time of the Regency its shop facades had in many cases acquired their single or double bow fronts. The Victorians brought in the plate-glass window and yet invariably found it necessary to overflow on to the path outside and to hang sides of meat round the doorway. The whole stretch between the polished plate in front and the overladen dustbins at the rear became in many a shop a veritable warren of showrooms and store-places.

Those who worked there, proprietors, shopmen, makers-up, milliners, apprentices, errand-boys and many other functionaries, or just "the family", lived a little-known way of life, characterised by hard, long hours and such themes as "the customer is always right". Shrove Tuesday was a local shop holiday, long "looked forward to with eagerness" by the young people. Not till 1891-5 did local traders concede to the Half-Holiday Movement one afternoon a week from one o'clock. Only in 1856 did Kirkby Moorside's young men manage to get evening closing by 8 o'clock.

In the words of a Malton Messenger leading article of 1854, "the shopkeeper's assistant acquires the habit of untiring perpendicularity; an average 12 hours a day he devotes the energies of an immortal soul to gaining a perfect knowledge of the souchong and ribbons, cut off from associations which would elevate the mind. Being a shop assistant prevents his forming an intimate association with anyone superior to himself. He may lay the blame on his wicked heart and become morbid, or blame the circumstances and seek scepticism". Few were as fortunate as Mr. Polly and able to seek flight.

For the proprietor, while the boom lasted, things were not so bad. The clientele was often captive. Profits were good and there was little urgency about payment. Jacob Taylor, a wheelwright of Potter Hill, Pickering, paid his bill of £6 or £7 for groceries and draperies once a year. Bad debts became a worry later. By 1904 Lumley's, the Howe End printers of Kirkby, acted to reduce them by announcing that they would charge interest on overdue accounts. Staff was a problem. Always in demand were the "steady, active, respectable, strong, well-educated youths" of the advertisements, who were offered long hours, low pay, and a wide variety of living and working conditions, but few

prospects; they might even be required to attend chapel with their employer. The public were sometimes not what they might be. Attempts at theft and shop-lifting were all too common. As early as the fifties, Malton grocers stopped giving away Xmas candles " as people had obtained them by deceit from shops they otherwise never visited". And yet there were pleasant surprises, like the brace of pheasants and a hare sent to every Helmsley tradesman by the Earl of Feversham in the winter of 1881, and the item of news in 1856 that "three respectable individuals have become patrons of the newspaper press at Appleton-le-Moors, to the extent of taking a penny paper among them". The sentimentalist at the century's end could only regret the separation of shop and workshop, and the ominous first appearance of the chain store.

For the shopper there had been gains and losses. Never again would there be quite such robust enjoyment of new commodities, though commitment to a rising living standard became for the first time a national assumption. It was the age of hermetically sealed tin cans, casks and baskets, of packeted, dried and desiccated soups, of cheaper substitutes - margarine for butter in the seventies, Palethorpe's sausages instead of meat - but also of Jackson's Kirkby ginger snaps at 4½d a lb; Lancaster's Helmsley home-made white bread; John Harrison's dry ginger ale and Boddy's unbeatable "super flour" from Kirkby Mills. There were, needless to say, the many casualties of the "weekly payment system", but enough felt that things had improved for the Queen's reign to be looked back on as an age of great progress. We were on the way to becoming "a nation of shoppers".

SOURCES

This article relies pre-eminently on the Yorkshire and Malton Gazettes and the Malton Messenger newspapers, on local directories, almanacs and guide-books, and on collections of documents in private hands bearing on the history of local shops.

REFERENCES

(1) Account books kindly shown to me by Mrs. Reussner of Thornton Dale, and Mr. M. Foster of Pickering.

(2) Report of the Commissioners on the Employment of Women and Children.

(3) Document kindly donated to the Beck Isle Museum by Mr. A. Taylor of Pickering.

(4) Petch of Kirkby Moorside MSS.

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(6) Poem, 'The Parting', from Malton Messenger, 1 Nov. 1856.

An Account of the Iron Industry in Upper Ryedale and Bilsdale, c. 1150-1650

by J. G. McDonnell

This account surveys early iron-working sites in Upper Ryedale. The area covered extends along the River Rye from Rievaulx up to Snilesworth Lodge, and along the Seph in Bilsdale from its confluence with the Rye to Chop Gate.

I. INTRODUCTORY

The use of iron for weapons and agricultural tools began in Britain about 800 B.C. Since that time iron, whether fully refined or as an alloy, has always been in use. There are few bloomery sites in Britain which are known to have been worked during the Iron Age proper. The North Yorkshire Moors possess at least one of these rare archaeological sites, on Levisham Moor some ten miles north of Pickering.

The Romans began to occupy this area 37 years after the Claudian invasion of 43 A.D. In the following centuries, with the Roman settlement at Malton and the extension of Roman influence to sites like the recently discovered villa near Helmsley, iron would have been in steady demand. But so far there is only one possible local iron-working site relating to the Roman period, near Oldstead in Cockerdale Wood, grid. reference SE 538814.

Of the industry during the 'Dark Ages' we know nothing, and very little of the people of those times. It is not until the Middle Ages that evidence of iron-working becomes comparatively plentiful. Smiddale ('Smith's Dale') in Bilsdale was so called before the Domesday Book was written; and once the monks were established at Rievaulx and Byland in particular, it seems that travelling ironsmiths began to work the area systematically, setting up a bloomery and working it until their source of iron failed, and paying their rents not in money but in iron.

Just after the dissolution of the monasteries, a new process using the cold-blast furnace was introduced into Yorkshire from the Weald, where it had been in use for some time. Landowners seem to have centralised the industry round blast furnaces, bringing the ore to the furnace instead of working it at the source. Slowly the bloomeries died out, unable to compete with the new process.

In 1615 came the blow which made furnaces relying on wood as fuel cease working. For there was in that year a royal proclamation banning the use of wood in all types of furnace, owing to the deforestation of the land. Many of the rich blast furnace owners bought their own woods and continued to work until the timber ran out. The industry now moved and grew in areas where there was coal at hand.

It was not until 1856 that serious mining of ironstone recommenced on the North Yorkshire Moors. A lease was then given by Thomas Garbut to George Leeman, Isaac Hartas and Alexander Clunes Sherriff to work the magnetic seams near Hollins Farm in Rosedale West. In 1861 the North Eastern Railway completed the Rosedale Branch, enabling the ore to be transported via Battersby to Teeside. In 1866 the East Side Mines were opened up, and in that year the total tonnage of ore, transported along the railway, was 233,382. The peak was achieved in 1873, when 560,668 tons were removed, though from that year on there was a steady decline until, in 1880, no ore was transported. Between the years 1861-1880 some 5 million tons of ore were removed.

At roughly the same period iron was also mined in Scugdale and taken out through Swainby. Back in Bilsdale, a smith at Fangdale Beck mined and smelted his own ore until about 1900, when he stopped smelting, but relied on imported iron for his smithy. He ceased working in about 1905, but old ploughs and other implements made by him can still be found on moor farms.

2. IRON ORE DEPOSITS IN THE AREA

The ironstone on the whole of the moors exists in four seams, though of course these are only rough guides since the seams fade and intermingle. They are referred to as 'The Main Seam', 'The Dogger', 'The Ellerbeck Bed' and 'The Avicula Seam'. They are all poor quality. (See Plan 1).

A. The Main Seam.

Working northwards in Bilsdale the first outcrop is just west of the river at Spout House, (the Sun Inn); this is rather isolated. The next outcrop is at Fangdale Beck, where it was probably worked by the local iron smith in the late 19th century. From there on, up to the village of Urra at the head of Bilsdale, these outcrops are all on the west side. At Stingamire, just north of Fangdale Beck, the seam is 1'6" high, which is quite good for this area. A section taken for the Geological Memoir at Fangdale Beck produced:

Ironstone	1'0"
Shale	3'0"
Ironstone	1'0"

There is only 1 outcrop on the east side and this is in a Gill opposite Chop Gate. Up Tripsdale there is only 1 outcrop, at the road near a farm called High Crossets. This is all we have of the main seam in the area.

B. The Dogger Seam.

This seam is exposed at Snilesworth Moor just under the shooting lodge; here it is some 5' thick. The seam also appears in Arnsgill just south of Snilesworth where it is only 2' - 3'6" thick.

C. The Ellerbeck Bed.

This also appears on Snilesworth Moor mostly around the upper reaches of the Rye, for instance near Skelbeast Crag. Lower down it comes to the surface at Proddale Beck where it is 2' thick, and at Wheat Beck where it is 1'6" thick. On the south-east side of Arnsgill there are some drift mines dug into the seam. In Blow Gill the ironstone is under 8' of shale. At Blow Gill Farm this reading was taken:

Shale	5'0"
Thin ironstone	0'4"
Shale	3'0"
Ironstone with fossils	0'6"

In Bilsdale a small band crosses the road just above William Beck near Chop Gate. At Fangdale Beck the ironstone is 2' thick; it also appears above Low Crosset Farm. There is a large outcrop on Bilsdale West Moor near where Tripsdale joins Bilsdale.

D. The Avicula Seam.

There are outcrops of this seam south of Chop Gate, and also near the road by Low Crosset Farm.

These are the outcrops of ironstone which would be most likely to have been exploited by the ironworkers. Continuations of the seams are found in old quarries. The quarry on the West Side of Bilsdale, in Helm House Wood, was the source of much stone for the building of Rievaulx Abbey. Where the stone has been removed, an ironstone seam is visible, which was probably exploited by the monks. The above seams all bear ironstone and not iron ore. Ironstone contains less iron than iron ore, which is often made up of small globules of iron in the rock.

3. THE MEDIEVAL PROCESS

The Mining of Ironstone

There were two basic methods of extracting ironstone:
(a) The Drift Mine, a trench or tunnel cut horizontally into the hillside. Dimensions varied greatly, depending on the height, width and depth of the seam. Some trenches in the Forest of Dean drove 40 ft. or more into the hill.
(b) The Bell-Pit, so called because it resembled a bell in vertical section. This was the method for obtaining ironstone at deeper levels, used chiefly in Yorkshire, Lancashire and Sussex. The top of the pit was circular and some 5 ft. in diameter, gradually widening to about 12 ft. diameter at the bottom. Pits varied in depth, some being only

7-10 ft. deep, others 15-20 ft. Depth depended on the seam and on the stability of the strata above; the danger lay in undermining the lip of the pit too far and risking collapse. As each pit was worked out a new one was dug nearby.

The Process

Before ironstone left the mine it was washed to remove soil and dust, and then carried to the bloomery by pack-animal, sled or wheel-barrow depending on the distance involved. It was first roasted to drive off any water, and thus reduced in weight but not in volume. It was then crushed by hammering and sieved. The resulting ore was taken to the bloom-hearth, where alternate layers of charcoal and ore mixed with more charcoal, were laid in the furnace, the final layer being of crushed charcoal. The furnace was then fired, by passing the flame through a nozzle low in the side of the furnace called a tuyere or flue. Once the fire was started, bellows were attached to the tuyere and an air blast produced, small at first but growing larger.

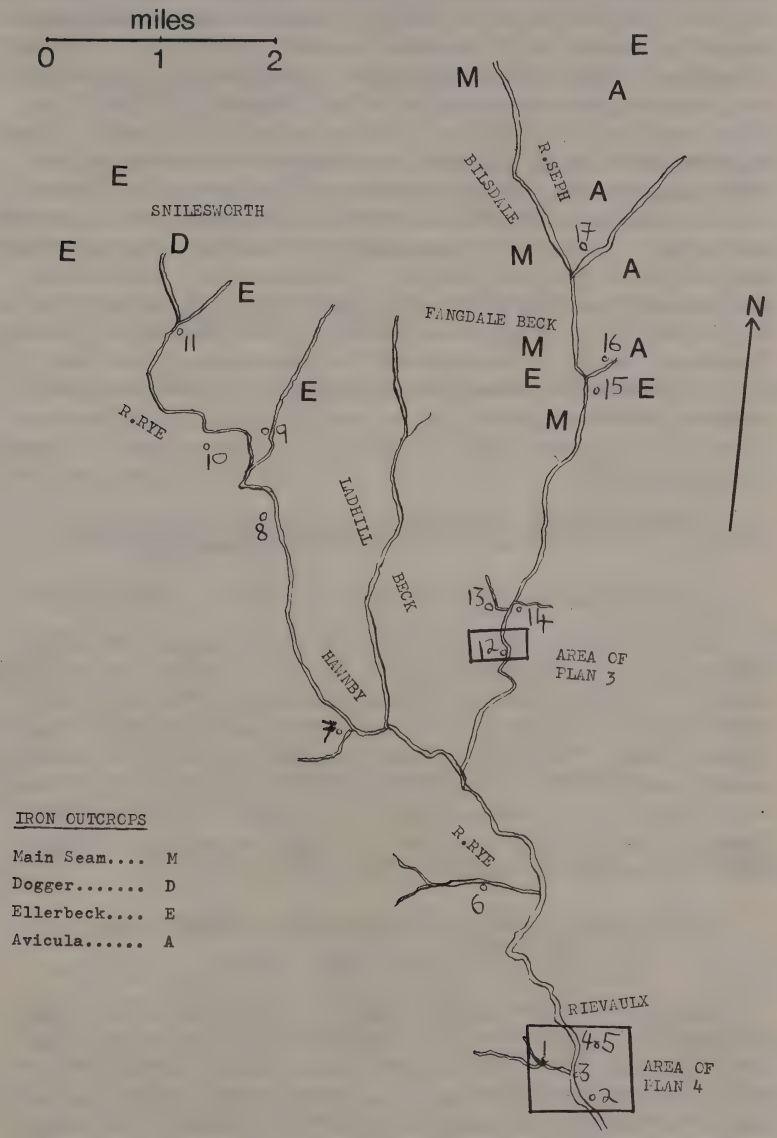
To obtain pure iron the ironstone must be 'reduced'; this is done by the oxygen from the air blast combining with the carbon in the charcoal to produce the reducing agent, carbon monoxide. The gas passes up through the layers and the ore is reduced. This action takes place at about 1200° centigrade, which is 328° below the melting point of iron. Slowly, relatively pure iron is produced, as particles which come together and form small spongy bodies. These bodies conglomerate into a large mass called the bloom. The bloom was then removed ready for hammering.

This was the process used in the pre-historic and Roman eras, and it was followed exactly in Medieval times, the only addition being in the form of an iron bar actually in the furnace. The bar, which could be manipulated from outside, served to stir up the ore-charcoal mixture, clear slag from the tuyere, and raise the bloom at the end of the process. Throughout the whole process water was sprinkled on the fire to prevent unnecessary use of fuel; the final covering of pounded charcoal was, from time to time, replaced and sprinkled with water so that it would not burn too quickly.

The bloom was not yet ready for the blacksmith. Still attached to it was a small amount of slag, and so water was sprinkled on it to help divide the slag and iron by careful hammering. Once this was done the bloom had to be consolidated by repeated hammering and heating. For this purpose a bloomery might have two furnaces, otherwise the same furnace as was used in the first part would be used. This had the advantage that part of the heat still remained. The second hearth if it

PLAN 1

Iron Deposits & Workings In Upper Ryedale & Bilsdale



existed was called the stringhearth. The work at the stringhearth was regarded as more laborious than the work at the bloomery and it thus earned a higher rate of pay for the men who worked it; manipulating heavy blooms at a hearth and anvil was strenuous work, especially since the hearth could be as hot as 1400°C. Besides the actual technique of hammering the slag out, it was also removed unintentionally by reduction, through small flakes with a high content of carbon falling into the fire and producing carbon monoxide as in the bloom hearth. Finally the bloom would be split by an axe for easier use by the blacksmith. From a cleaved bloom found in Ulster, it was found that the areas of high carbon content were on the outside (some 47% carbon) while those of low carbon content (0.05%) were at the line of cleaving which was the central axis. Thus the ironmaster made sure that the centre was wrought iron, which was the metal desired. If all was well, it was cleaved totally in half, but often these halves were still too heavy to be handled by the blacksmith. For instance there were some produced at Byrkenott, Weardale, Durham, in the years 1408-9 which weighed about 1cwt. 87 lbs. They would have been cleaved again into about 12 pieces, each weighing 16¼ lbs.

4. LIST OF SITES

AREA "A" RYE FROM RIEVAULX TO JUNCTION WITH R. SEPH.

1. Ashberry Farm. Grid reference SE 570844. Type medieval.

The site is in the first field on the left of the road to Old Byland after crossing the stream near Ashberry Farm. Very little of the workings remain. The only evidence is intense blackening of the earth, and a little slag; the river has removed much of the bank where the bloomery probably stood. The field has been ploughed, and the layout of the site cannot be determined. The site is in an unlikely position since there is no ironstone in the immediate vicinity. It might have related to the Rievaulx sites, but it is to the west of the Rye and therefore on Byland land. Not previously recorded.

2. Forge Farm, Rievaulx. Grid reference 576842. Type late 16th cent.-1650 Finery/Chafery Hearths.

There are two large heaps of mossers* on either side of the 'canal' at Forge Farm, next to the road. On the farm side of the canal there is a square area with no mossers in it; this is probably the site of the actual finery/chafery buildings. The finery/chafery forge is the final part of the blast furnace process which will be discussed in more detail later.

* "Mosser": a large block of slag fused into the shape of the bottom of the finery hearth, from which it has been thrown out complete.

3. Rye House, Rievaulx. Grid reference 576847.

The site is on the right-hand side of the road going towards Rievaulx village. The only evidence is some mossers, but these may have been dumped here, and so the site is doubtful.

4. Rievaulx Blast Furnace. Grid reference 576851. Type late 16th cent.-1650.

There are three very large mounds of slag, on one of which a number of modern cottages are built. The exact location of the furnace itself has not been established. It was probably the first blast furnace in Yorkshire, if not the North of England.

5. Rievaulx Hammersmithy or Mill. Grid reference unknown. 16th cent.

Referred to as molendinum in the Ministers Accounts at the Dissolution. No slag of the right type has been found, probably because it is hidden under the blast furnace slag. The site is likewise most probably under the blast furnace remains.

6. Birk Bank/Birk Wood. Grid references 559871 and 561871. Type Medieval.

The site is to the west of the Rye and therefore on Byland land; an old track leads to it from Cadell Mill, which was in existence during the Middle Ages. There are in fact two sites separated by some 100 yards. The track is banked up on its lower side (it is on the side of the hill), and opposite the site higher up the stream this banking is broken in two places. There is not a great quantity of slag at either of the two sites. They are some distance from the nearest supply of ironstone. Not previously recorded.

AREA "B" UPPER RYE: JUNCTION OF RYE AND SEPH TO SNILESWORTH

7. Daleside Drive. Grid reference 541892. Type medieval.

This is the most doubtful site of all that have been found. The only indication of a site were a few pieces of slag, and a search higher up the stream revealed no cinder hills, so I presume most of the slag has been removed for metalling roads. At the site there is what has been a pond but the drive has removed one end. The stream would have been diverted through the pond, which was about 6' deep. The purpose of the pond, if it did serve a bloomery site, might have been for a water-powered hammer or bellows. If so the site will be quite late, and might even have stretched into the early 17th century. This pond will be referred to later on. Not previously recorded.

8. Thack Wath. Grid reference 529922. Type medieval.

The site is about half a mile downstream from the Hazel Heads car-park, on the right bank of the river. It is marked by a large mound of slag some 6-8' high and nearly circular in shape, with a circumference of about 300'. A lot of slag has been removed for road-making, and so the original dimensions of the mound are unknown. The removing of the slag has formed hollows in the mound, one very large, 5-6' deep and 50' in diameter. There is another square hollow, 17' x 17', on the stream side of the mound; this may be due to removal of slag, but it could be where the bloomhearth was housed.

Above the site the hill is terraced. This may be due to mining; it is unlikely that it is agricultural since the ground would be easier and more fertile down in the valley.

9. (a) Blow Gill (I). Grid reference 528932. Early medieval.

The site is marked by the remains of a large slag heap some 75 ft. across. It has been dug into (a) to provide metal for road surfacing, and (b) so that a farm track can pass through. The slag is of very early type, containing quite a lot of iron. The heap is situated some 10-15 ft. vertically above the beck, and for water to be brought to the actual site they would have had to take a leat off the river about a quarter of a mile upstream. But from the crude nature of the slag it is unlikely that water power would have been employed. Mr. M. Davies-Shiel states that the name Blow (Gill) is often associated with ironworking sites.

(b) Blow Gill (II). Grid reference 527932. Medieval.

This site is some 60 yards downstream of Blow Gill (I), and is on the opposite bank of the beck. The stream itself is here the boundary between Snilesworth and Hawnby parishes, so the sites would probably have been under different owners.

The site consists of a small mound which was very black and had some charcoal and slag in it. It is in rather a strange position since it is beside the beck, which is very powerful. It seems a stupid place to build a hearth, for when the snows melt the stream is full and fast-flowing, so that the installation could easily have been washed away. Not previously recorded.

10. Cow Wath (or Black Intake). Grid reference 520932. Type medieval.

The site is on the opposite side of the dale to Hazel Heads car-park, on top of a ridge. The mound of slag is much longer than the one at Thack Wath, for it is some 500' in circumference; parts of it are 10'

high, but it has not been robbed for use on roads. The mound has been built on a steep slope, and the bloomhearth is probably above the mound. A stream passes above the mound practically parallel to the contours. Just before the mound the stream takes a 90° turn and may well have been diverted through the site. The earth on the lower side of the stream is very red, indicating burning. The stream would not have been enough to drive bellows. There is a track sloping down from the site towards the bottom of the valley, but the ironstone probably came from higher up the hill.

11. Low Cote, Snilesworth. Grid reference 514949. Type medieval.

The site is on the east bank of the Rye about a quarter of a mile north of Low Cote Farm. Unlike Thack Wath and Cow Wath there is no large mound to mark the site, perhaps due to total removal of the slag for road-making. But it has a small ridge of slag in the shape of a 'U' with the opening facing the stream. This feature will be discussed along with ones similar to it later on. The ridge is 2-3' high; at its widest point it is 15' across and 28' long. The banks are broken in two places along the downstream side. At the base of the 'U' there is a platform, 12' x 12', and about 9" high. The ironstone was probably quarried in the hill behind the site. Not previously recorded.

AREA "C" SEPH - BILSDALE.

12. Timberholme, Laskill. Grid reference 564903. Type late medieval.

The site consists of a large central mound, 180 x 100 ft., passed on one side by the Seph and on the other by a channel leading from higher up the river, around the mound and into a pond-like structure with an outlet leading directly into the river. The channel is about 100 yards long; its width varies and it is difficult to measure. Owing to the slope of the mound the measurement of the original channel cannot be made, but a rough estimation is 15' wide and about 4' deep, though it will of course have silted up. At the end of the channel it opens out to between 17' and 20' across, for some 41' of its length. On the north side of the mound the soil is very red, which suggests burning.

This is probably the site referred to in the Ministers Accounts, 30-31 Henry VIII; it was called a 'fabrica' (works) as opposed to the 'molendinum' at Rievaulx (no. 5 above). It was valued at 26/8, the same as the Rievaulx 'mill', and was contracted to Richard Rawlinson, who also held a licence to dig 'le ore'. Not previously recorded.

13. Woolhouse Croft, Laskill. Grid reference 562912. Type medieval.

The site is about half a mile from the junction of the Hawnby-

Laskill road with the road to Woolhouse Croft, up a small stream ('Bow Bridge Beck') in a field called 'Cinders Field'. The field has been repeatedly ploughed but the 'U' shape can still be seen. At its widest point the site is 46' wide and 26' long. There is an abundance of slag and blackened earth. Not previously recorded.

14. Oak House, Laskill. Grid reference 564912. Type medieval.

The site is on the far side of the road from the lane up to Oak House Farm. In fact the actual bloomery is probably under the road, though owing to the moving of earth for the road bridge across a stream it is hard to say how far the site extended. One of the pieces of slag I picked up was either the result of a crude method, suggesting it was early medieval, or just part of a bad batch. Not previously recorded.

15. Smithy Eller, Bilsdale. Grid reference 574943. Type medieval.

The site is squeezed in between the road and the river just south of Low Crosset Farm. It consists of a mound, part of which has been cut off by the road. In the side of the river bank there is some masonry, which may be part of a bloomery, or a later structure to stop erosion by the river.

16. Low Crosset, Bilsdale. Grid reference 576947. Type medieval.

The site is in the field just below the farm, near some hen huts next to the stream. It is a very small site, though slag has possible been removed for road-making.

17. Grange, Bilsdale. Grid reference 572961. Type medieval.

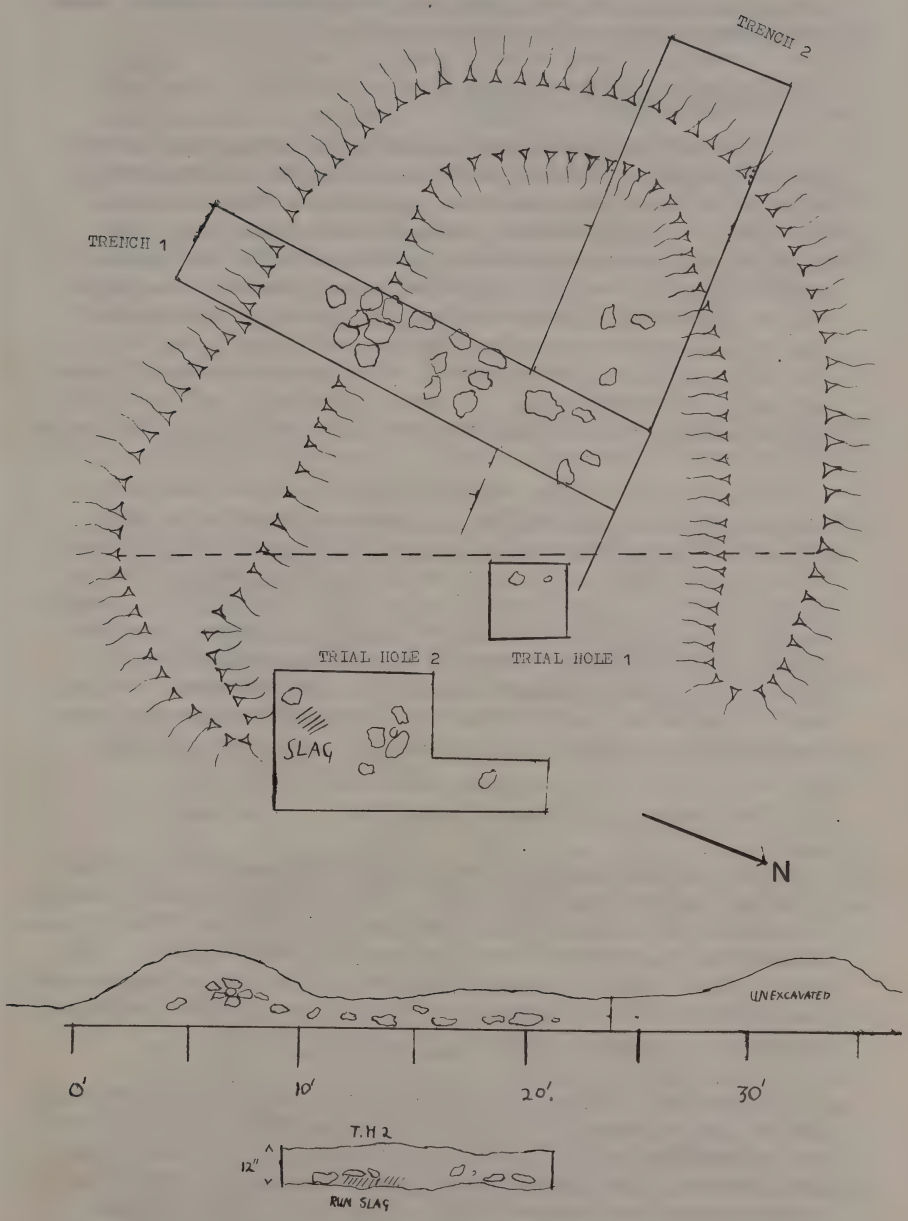
The site is between Ledge Beck and the road leading to the Grange, largely in a field still called 'Cinder Hills' from the large quantities of slag covering it. Though a few trial holes were dug by Mr. R. H. Hayes, no clues to the whereabouts of the bloomery were found. It seems likely that the beck may have changed its course since the time of the bloomery; if so, the sharp bend in what appears to be an old river channel, at the point nearest to the slag deposits, may be a clue to the position of the hearth.

5. NOTES ON THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

(a) Sites and Monastic Lands.

It is tempting to assume that, since a site was on Rievaulx or Byland land, the monastery controlled the ironworks. The Rievaulx Chartulary (p. 179) makes a clear reference to a 'ferrarius' (ironsmith) who worked under their control at Stainton (a lost village in Bilsdale West Side, north of Laskill) in about the year 1170.

PLAN 2 The Sleightholmedale Pond SE 649904



But when in 1260 Simon de Ver gave lands in Raisdale to Rievaulx, he kept the mineral rights (Riev. Chartulary p.226). It is very probable that this was common practice, since the rent was normally paid in iron to the landowner by the ironworker, and this would be a valuable source of free workable iron for the former's estates.

(b) Concentration of the Industry.

In the early Middle Ages, bloomeries appear to have been worked by itinerant smiths. Smelting and ironworking were ancient crafts or 'mysteries' whose secrets were closely guarded, so that ironworkers, like tinkers or charcoal-burners, tended to form clans. The clans would intermarry thus keeping the art of ironworking within a limited number of people. Mr. M. Davies-Shiel, an industrial archaeologist from the Lake District, states that there it is possible to identify iron-working families by surnames like Hobhouse and Hoggart; the latter is a very old-established name in Bilsdale. The itinerant smith would erect and work a bloomsmithy close to a supply of ironstone, fuel and water, and when one of these (normally the ironstone) ran out, he would move on.

This form of the industry is clearly represented by the smaller sites such as Low Crosset, Smithy Eller, Oak House and Woolhouse Croft. The sites at Thack Wath and Cow Wath probably had a very good supply of ironstone and fuel, and so were worked for a long time, but still by itinerant smiths. Slowly, as the industry grew, it became more economical to gather together the workers of the smaller sites into one or two large central bloomeries. When this transition took place here it is difficult to say, but it probably happened in about 1450-1500. At any rate with respect to Rievaulx, the only two recorded sites at the time of the Dissolution in 1538 were at Rievaulx and Laskill (Timberholme).

(c) The 'Horned' or 'U'-shaped Construction.

As this survey progressed a number of sites appeared which included a 'horned' or 'U'-shaped bank of slag. They all had a number of features in common: they were all roughly the same size, the base of the 'U' faced towards high ground and the open end faced the stream or river. With the 'U' shape in mind, it seemed likely that since the closed end was uphill, the banking was built to keep surface water off some construction, say a hearth, which would be at or near the centre of the 'U'.

For one day in 1970, with members of the local archaeological group, and one day in January 1971, with Mr. Raymond Hayes and myself, the site in Sleightholmedale (SE 648906), which has a horned construction, was trenched. The first trench cut diagonally across the 'U', and the second straight down the centre hollow (see plan). The banks were found to consist of a central core of stone, covered by slag and earth.

Nothing resembling a hearth was found in the centre, not even any burning of the soil, which one would associate with a bloomery even if the actual hearth structure had been removed.

If the object of the 'U' was not to keep water out, it must have been to keep it in. In fact they seem to be the remains of ponds. The difficulty at this stage was that in all the sites originally examined, the 'U' was wide open at the 'prongs' - though on looking at one or two more closely there are signs of banking remaining on the open or river side of the structure. What probably happened was that when the bloomery was abandoned, water built up in the pond, broke through the sluice at the lower end and washed the nearby banking away. The late discovery of the Timberholme (Laskill) site, where the pond and leat bringing water to it are still visibly intact save for the sluice, lent weight to this explanation. But only thorough excavation will confirm it.

The sites which have the 'U' feature are:

i) Daleside (No. 7). Most of the pond survives, but the lower bank has been obliterated. This is the largest pond I have found, and it was fed by a diverted stream.

ii) Low Cote (No.11). The lower bank has been washed away and one arm is broken in two places. There is a platform of slag at the uphill end of the 'U'.

iii) Timberholme, Laskill (No.12). The pond is still intact and the channel can still be clearly seen. This is the only complete example of such a site that I have found, and others of the 'pond' type can be assumed to have resembled it. (See Plan 3).

iv) Woolhouse Croft, Laskill (No.13). Average size, but again the lower side has been washed away, and the field has been heavily ploughed.

v) Grange, Bilsdale (No.17). No obvious pond, but what seems to be an old river channel does change course dramatically. At this point, which is also its nearest approach to the slag deposits, the channel is wider.

(d) Access.

All the sites were easily accessible by pack-horse. Until the Cistercians arrived, the valley bottoms consisted mainly of brushwood and swamp, and nearly all agriculture took place on the higher slopes. The early iron-sites therefore tended to be higher than the subsequent ones. Cow Wath (10) is probably an example of an early one: it is quite high up, with a sled track going up the hill and another traversing along the contours.

The Cistercians preferred to acquire uncultivated land and develop it from scratch, linking their granges by good roads. Part of the route which as well as woolpacks and farm produce probably brought stone for building and ironstone or ready-smelted iron to Rievaulx, can be seen running along the west side of Bilsdale, connecting the outlying farms and granges. An iron-working site was ideally below the ironstone outcrop and near a small stream. The stone could then be sledded down to the bloomery; the hollow-ways so formed can still be seen in places.

(e) Analysis of Slag.

The following analyses of slag from local sites were kindly provided by Mr. J. S. Owen, an industrial archaeologist who has visited Rievaulx in connexion with the blast furnace:

THACK WATH, G.R. 529922		COW WATH, G.R.523931
Ferric Oxide	45.14	38.85
Silica	28.00	31.20
Alumina	12.64	11.16
Manganese Oxide	.65	1.17
Lime	6.80	8.00
Magnesia	2.37	5.20
Phosphorus Pentoxide	1.91	2.10
Sulphur Trioxide	.35	.45
Carbon	1.60	1.60

RIEVAULX SLAGS		FURNACE SLAG	
FORGE FARM (Finery/Chafery)		Sample (a)	Sample (b)
Total Iron	53.60	2.60	2.70
Ferric Oxide	17.16	-	-
Ferrous Oxide	53.66	-	-
Silica	15.00	45.8	46.4
Manganese Oxide	.56	1.85	1.85
Lime	3.20	25.00	23.00
Magnesia	.30	2.34	2.52
Alumina	2.50	20.48	21.74
Phosphorus Pentoxide	4.42	0.012	0.014
Sulphur	.11	0.027	0.030

It can be seen by comparing the slag from Thack and Cow Wath with the furnace slag from Rievaulx that there was a great improvement in technique. The Thack Wath and Cow Wath slags contain 45.14 and 38.85% iron, whereas the furnace slag contains only 2.6 or 2.7%. The finery/chafery slag from Forge Farm contains a lot of iron. This may seem surprising since it involves the second stage of what Schubert calls 'indirect process' (see Section 7 below) - the first having been the

highly efficient reduction to cast iron in the blast furnace, which left less than 3% iron in the slag. It is because in the refining process, slag was mixed with the charcoal and the cast iron 'pig'. There was also a little slag attached to the pig itself. Pure iron was likely to break off the pig and mix with the slag.

In addition to the slag, some charcoal from Cow Wath was also analysed:

Ferric Oxide	6.4
Silica	9.0
Alumina	6.4
Manganese Oxide	.22
Lime	2.2
Magnesia	.80
Phosphorus Pentoxide	.072
Sulphur Trioxide	.50
Carbon	80.40

(f) The Supply of Water and its Uses.

There is only one known site in the whole moorland area that was not built near a supply of running water. This unique site is on the top of a hill, at Postgate Hill, Glaisdale (NZ 759047). They obtained their water here by collecting the rain in a hollowed out boulder, and this seems to have sufficed for their needs. In the early Middle Ages water was only required to control the fire, and for quenching the bloom.

Later, hammers and bellows were powered by water. As has been seen (cf. (iii) above), in many of the sites surveyed a pond had been made, and was fed either by a channel or by a wooden leat which would since have disappeared. They went to these lengths probably so that there would be a slow current, and also a good reserve of water in case the source became low or ceased to flow.

The application of water power in ironmaking was known by 1435. But this is certainly not the earliest date for water power. In the Alps and Silesia water-powered bellows and hammers were used in the 11th and 12th centuries. By the 13th century hammer-mills (i.e. ironworks using water power to drive their hammers) were known in France. It is unlikely that the use of water power would be exploited on the Continent and not reach England within a generation or two.

It is certain that by 1540 there were powered hammers and perhaps powered bellows at Rievaulx (referred to as a hammersmithy, see Schubert Appendix VII, pp.395-6), but not at Laskill, where the fall of water would not have been sufficient to drive anything but an undershot wheel.

6. THE STATE OF THE INDUSTRY AT THE TIME OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES: EVIDENCE RELATING TO THE SMITHIES AT LASKILL AND RIEVAULX.

By 1540 the Earl of Rutland had acquired the lands that once belonged to Rievaulx Abbey. In that year one of his agents made an inventory of the abbey's local property. And in 1541 we have an agreement between Lambert Seimar or Symar and the Earl concerning the ironworkings at Laskill and Rievaulx. Seimar was one of the first French ironworkers to come to England, had been responsible for installing the first 'great water hammer' in a Sussex bloomery, and was already tenant of 'le Yronsmithes' at Rievaulx by 1538, just before the Dissolution. Between them the inventory and the agreement tell us a good deal about what was happening to the industry here.

The agreement is printed in Appendix VII of Schubert (pp.395-7). It concerns 'the Earl's bloom-smithies at Rievaulx and Bilsdale and a hammer-smithy'. This is Schubert's heading, suggesting that the two bloomeries were one at Laskill and one at Rievaulx, but details in the agreement make it clear that this was not so; in fact there seems to have been a linked process involving two bloomeries at Laskill and the hammer-smithy at Rievaulx. (If so, there were two separate processes in use a quarter of a century before the two-stage, blast-furnace plus finery-chafery process, was introduced. This will be dealt with in the next Section). I can trace no comparable site, nor any mention of one in Schubert, at this period. But the division of the medieval process into two separate stages can be seen as an obvious step forward towards the introduction of the Blast Furnace and the separate stages that this entailed.

The first important evidence comes quite early in the letter: "The Earle shall supply wood to make cole...for every seame of iron to be made at the blome smythes and strynghartheand...for the forgeyng and makyng of the seid seame of iron at the hamer smythe". (A seam was a measure by weight). The agreement goes on to specify the appointment of 'an officer' to handle rates and wages for the charcoal burners, 'gatherers' of ore and carriers of ore and coal, as well as the workmen at the bloomhearth and stringhearth - but not, apparently, those at the hammer-smithy, which was Seimar's own concern. "The seid officer to receive the iron from the smythes at Laskelle to the most advantage and the seid officer to deliver the seid iron to the seid Lambard (Seimar) by wyeyght", and to pay for the carriage from Laskill to the hammer-smithy.

This last phrase makes it clear that the crude iron produced at the bloomery then left Laskill for the hammer-smithy at Rievaulx. That is to say it was 'made' - smelted - from the ore at Laskill, and then re-smelted and refined with the powered hammers at Rievaulx.

The agreement goes on to distinguish between two qualities of ore: "wheras it is lyghtly gotten is dross and wheras it is depely gotten is the good ure and the more payne to get it..."

"Too bloome smythes to be made ther" (i.e. at Laskill). "Every blome to work a seame every weeke".

"To worke the drosse by hit self and the good iron by hit self".

"The strynge man to worke and delyver too seame every weeke and to devyd (divide) hit in lyke manner".

"The smytheman to work as muche wekely as cumyth from the stryng-harth and to work the good iron by hit self and the drosse by hit self".

As we have seen (see Section 3 above), the normal medieval process just consisted of the stage in the bloomhearth and the stage in the string-hearth, after which it was ready for the blacksmith. But now both the good iron and the dross are to be given further treatment by a third craftsman - the 'smytheman' - who presumably worked under the direct control of Seimar at Rievaulx. The result must have been to improve quality.

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Documents confirm the existence of two distinct installations at Laskill and Rievaulx, even before the Earl of Rutland took over the industry. The Rievaulx Chartulary quotes Ministers Accounts for 30-31 Henry VIII (1538-9) - the royal commissioners' inventory - as follows:

at Rievaulx: "unius Molendini vocati le Yron Smithes, infra scitum praedictum (within the abbey precinct), nuper in tenura dicti Lamberti Semer, per annum 26/8d".

at Laskill: "et de 26/8d de firma fabricae vocatae le Yron Smithes ibidem, unam licentiam fodiendi le ore, sic dimissae Ricardo Rawlinson per indenturam".

We therefore have two installations, of the same value, but not doing the same process, or doing it differently. Rievaulx is referred to as a modendinum, mill; while Laskill site is termed a fabrica, works. What then is the difference between a molendinum, and a fabrica? There are two possible answers: firstly, it could simply indicate that the fabrica at Laskill was a normal medieval bloomery, while the Rievaulx mill used water-power; secondly, it might suggest the linked processes implied in the 1541 agreement, with the roughly smelted iron being hammered into good quality malleable iron at Rievaulx. It is with respect to the latter theory that I shall discuss the Laskill and Rievaulx sites.

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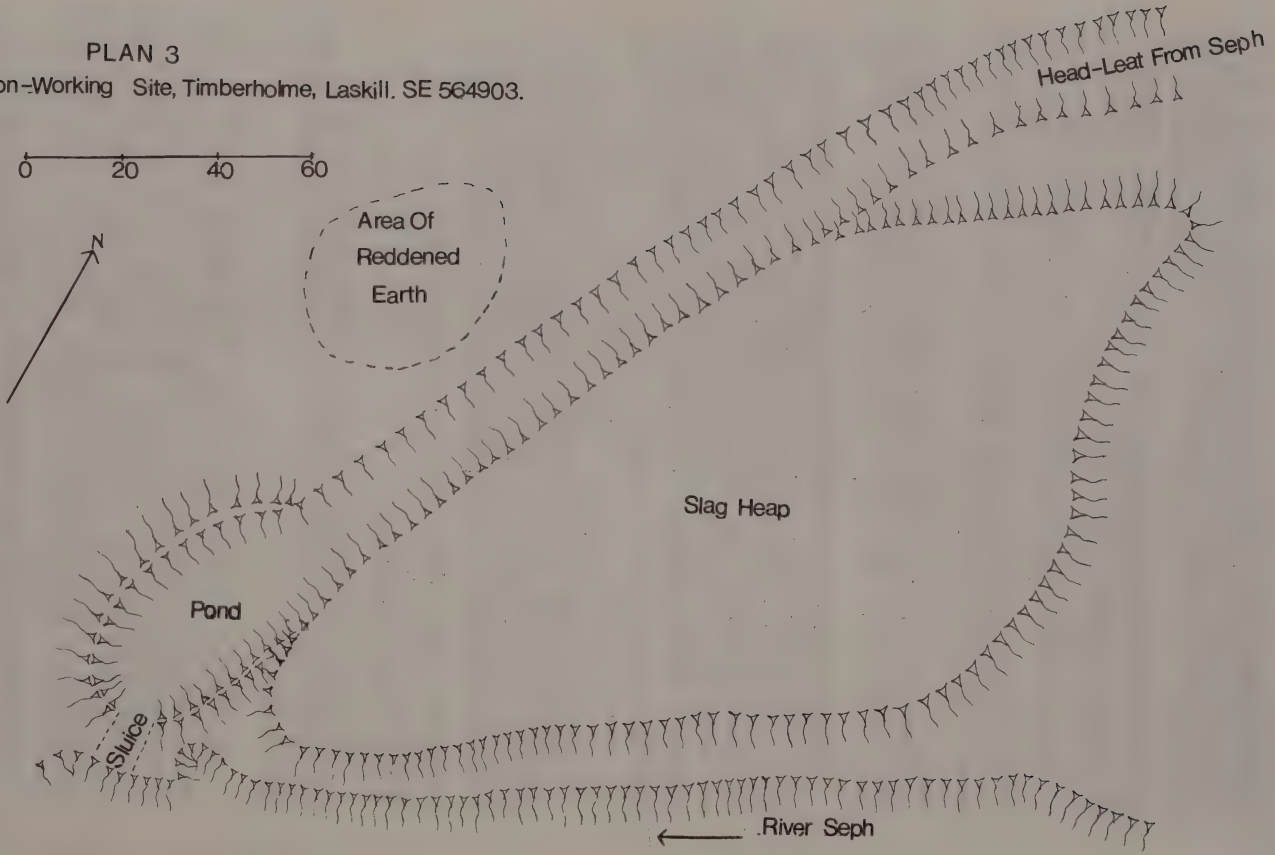
PLAN 3

Iron-Working Site, Timberholme, Laskill. SE 564903.



Timberholme, Laskill. (Site no.12)

I shall deal with this site first, since it was here that the first stage of the process must have been carried out; no other site in Laskill township fits the requirements of type of slag, size of slag-heap, and situation in relation to transport needs - the site is close to the old monastic road connecting Bilsdale West Side with the Abbey.

This is the site referred to in the Rievaulx Chartulary as a fabrica, worth 26/8, at the Dissolution. It was then managed by Richard Rawlinson, who also held a licence to dig for ore.

Added to the bottom of the Seimar-Rutland agreement mentioned previously there is a bill of 'Money payd for dyvers staff(es) & necessaries bought & provydyd for the Iron Smythes de XXXIII H(enry) VIII in Byllesdale'. Some of the implements listed help to reveal what went on at Laskill:

'a payer of blome lores' (leather straps laid along each of the bellows boards and fastened by nails - Schubert).

'a peare of stryng(e) lores' (same, but for stringhearth).

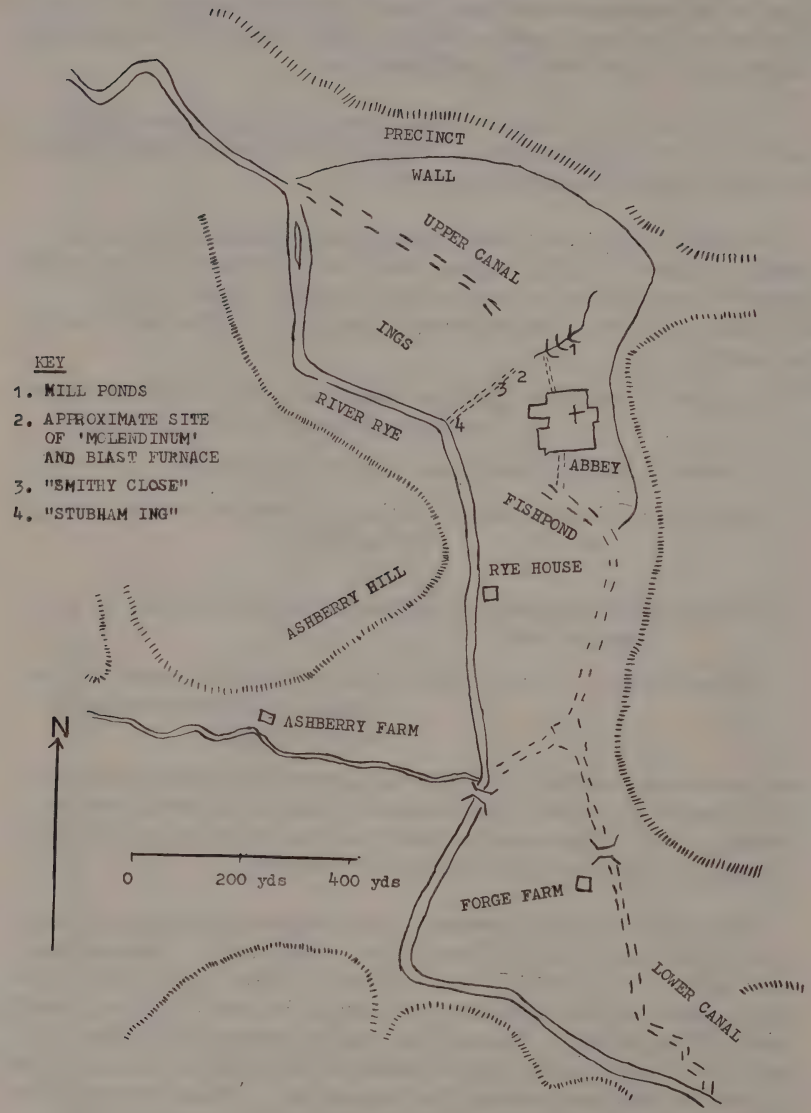
'item for fyve tredle pynn(es)' (for use in a treadle-hammer, worked by the foot).

'a forgayn' (this was the iron bar used in the hearth to stir the semi-molten iron).

'a great hamer, a lyttyll hamer' (the little hammer probably a hand hammer, the great one probably for the treadle).

We can deduce therefore that there were one or more bloomhearths and a stringhearth (the 'lores') and mechanical aids like a treadle hammer ('tredle pynn'). The money for these items was received by 'Rych Bery, Offycer of the Smythes in Byllesdale and Ryvaulx'.

What remains of the site today? With regard to ponds and channels, it is the best preserved site I have visited in this survey - see attached sketch-plan. The head-leat runs SW from the River Seph, with (off the sketch) a smaller channel feeding off back to the river; this was probably the overflow channel. The main leat continues past the slag-heap and opens into a small pond. The slag-heap is very large and does not seem to have had much slag removed for road-making. The south side of the pond has an opening just above the river bank which was the sluice. There are no obvious traces of hearths, but on the NW side of the leat there is a large area of reddened earth, which would repay further investigation. The river-side pasture in which these features stand has not been ploughed.



PLAN 4 Vicinity Of Rievaulx

The Hammer-smithy at Rievaulx (Site no.5)

The site has yet to be definitely located, but three separate surveys of 1538-41 provide clues which establish its approximate position fairly certainly. These surveys are contained in:

(1) Ministers Accounts 30-31 Hen.VIII (Apl.1538-Apl.1540).

(2) Patent Rolls 30 Hen.VIII
(Both these printed in Rievaulx Chartulary, pp.311-3, 343-4).

(3) Belvoir Castle Misc. MS. No. 106.
(This is the Rutland inventory referred to above).

My father has made a detailed correlation of the information given in these three documents, in connexion with Mr. A. L. Pacitto's work on the Rievaulx 'canals', and I give here the main points which come out:

Surveys (1) and (2) are both official documents relating to the dissolution of the Abbey, with very similar lists of fields, closes, mills, etc. in the close neighbourhood of the abbey buildings. Both make it clear that 'le Yron Smithes', 'lately in the tenure of Lambert Seimar', was within the abbey precinct (see sketch plan).

Survey (3), covering less area, is more useful because it describes the relative locations of various fields and buildings - a fulling-mill, a field called 'ffysher close' (connected with the monastic fish-pondsystem), and the Smithy. On correlating the inventories of these three surveys, and bearing in mind that the smithy was a mill (molendinum) powered by water, the only feasible site is below the modern corn-mill, using the same chain of ponds: that is to say, the Hammer-smithy of 1541 must have been on or very close indeed to the same site as the subsequent furnace. The exact location of the hearths of both is obscured by the encroachment of the village on to the working area - a number of cottages are actually built on top of one of the biggest furnace slag heaps; and of course great quantities of slag have been removed for road-surfacing, possibly taking some of the hearth structures with them. But whether or not it ever proves possible to confirm this by excavation, it can be safely assumed that both installations stood to the north-west of the main abbey buildings, between 'Smithy Close' (a name surviving into the 19th century) and 'Furnace House', across the village street.

Its History.

Documents do not record when an ironworks was built at Rievaulx, but it was in operation by the Dissolution of the Abbey on 3rd Dec. 1538. Some little time before, Lambert Seimar had been brought up from the Weald in Kent to manage the works. After the Dissolution, under the

Earl of Rutland's ownership, the works were rebuilt in 1540; the water supply was increased by strengthening the dam and heightening it, to such an extent that the flow was sufficient to serve three wheels. Schubert says of this event that the 'bloomery was rebuilt' but the evidence of the agreement (dated Dec. 1541, after the rebuilding) suggests that the bloomery was then developed into a more advanced hammer-smithy.

Soon afterwards, Seimar retired (his will in the Borthwick Institute is dated 1558, and he must have been an old man even in 1540 if Schubert is right in thinking him the same Lambert Seimar who was working in the Weald in 1496). By 1545 Laskill and Rievaulx were managed by John Blakett "Vicar of Sawton" (Scawton?) and later vicar of Helmsley. From this date on there are only passing references in Belvoir MSS to the smithy until 1576, when it was again rebuilt, this time as a blast furnace.

7. THE RIEVAULX BLAST-FURNACE AND FORGE (1576-1647)

(a) The Blast Furnace Process.

The following description is very brief, but a more detailed account can be found in Schubert, op. cit.

The process was carried out in two stages, each normally taking place in a separate building. The first stage, in the blast furnace proper, was the actual melting (to a liquid) of the iron in the ore or stone. The furnace was heated first to drive off excess moisture; then a grate was built above the bottom of the furnace, and successive layers of charcoal and iron ore were laid, with a small amount of limestone as flux. This 'charge' was then fired. Once the ore became molten, a damstone was embedded in clay in the front aperture (i.e. the entrance through which grate and charge were laid), and the tapping hole was also blocked. The grate was made to collapse, thus letting the charge drop into the hearth. The bellows were attached to the tuyere through the furnace wall, and were operated slowly at first, but gradually increasing in force. The iron would separate from the ore, leaving the slag floating on the molten iron. When the floating slag rose above the top of the damstone, the packing was pierced to allow it to flow out. As the molten iron in its turn reached the top of the damstone (this happened after about three days, and thereafter every 24 hours) the time came to run it out on to a prepared bed of sand in the form of a long bar, sometimes with smaller bars at right angles to the main one (the 'sow' and the 'pigs'). The process continued until the masonry of the furnace began to flake and bits fell into the molten iron thus reducing the quality.

The second stage, or the finery/chafery process, turned the brittle cast iron into malleable iron. The sows were remelted by being placed on wooden rollers and fed into a hearth with charcoal. As the bar

liquefied it was stirred so that any unmelted lumps would not rest on the bottom but be raised and melted. Slag that separated out was run off. An iron bar called a 'ringer' stopped the liquid from adhering to the sides of the hearth. Once the whole bar had liquefied it was allowed to form a spongy mass at the bottom of the hearth. This semi-solid mass was broken up and any parts still containing too much carbon were raised to the air-blast to get rid of it. Then the whole iron mass was again raised and liquefied.

After an hour in this finery hearth, the bloom was lifted out with tongs and beaten, first with a sledge-hammer, then with a water-hammer, into a thick square about two feet across. This was dragged back to the finery hearth and again heated to sweat out impurities for a further hour. Then a water-hammer forged the bloom into an 'ancony', a bar about three feet long, shaped like a double-ended spanner, thin in the middle, thick at one end, even thicker at the other. The hammering of the centre portion drove the surviving slag into the ends.

At this point the ancony was taken to the second, or chafery hearth. The smaller end was heated, then power-hammered into the shape of the middle. Finally, the thicker end required two similar heatings and hammerings to acquire the same shape and consistency as the middle. The chafery hearth attained greater temperatures than the finery in order to dispose of the last of the carbon. Finally the bar was beaten into 'squares'.

(b) The History of the Blast Furnace.

We can assume that the Blast Furnace was built some time in the years 1576-77, since the first references we have to it are in 1577-8 (Belvoir No. 527). From these references it is obvious that it was not quite completed, for they mention building a new casting-house, finery, floodgate and a storehouse. A balance (for weighing the pigs) was bought at York from a merchant who had had to import it from Flanders. The furnace was producing cast iron by 1577, however, because in that year the shed which covered the casting beds was extended for 'castynge the sowes longer', and the finer was paid for making 'two mouldynge shovells to the founder to occupye at his work at the furnace' (Be.No.527).

The building which housed the furnace had two furnace had two rare features; firstly, the shed whose extension is mentioned above was wooden, but it was roofed with tiles, whereas most furnaces were apparently thatched. Secondly, it had no chimney to allow the smoke and fumes to escape, just a hole in the roof. Otherwise it was of standard form.

In 1587 'a new furnace harth of a new facon' (fashion) was constructed and the output increased considerably. Prior to this date, the daily output was about 13 cwt per day; in 1587 it increased to 1 ton 2-3 cwt; and between 1603 and 1610 it was 1¾ tons per day (Be.No.878).

In 1591 something relatively new in England was produced at Rievaulx. This was the 'casting of two buckstaves', each weighing 3 cwt 12 stone (Be.No.529, Schubert p.196). These two buckstaves supported the timpstone and extended into the hearth. At the same time we have the earliest reference in England to 'furnace plates' (Be.No.529, Schubert p.198). The mouth of the tunnel protruded above the roof of the building and often hot coals and ironstone were blown out doing damage to the roofing; the furnace plates, of cast iron, were laid around the protruding tunnel to guard the roof against damage. Also listed were 'one payre of gaytes before the furnace tope for keeping the wind from yt' (Be.No.529), i.e. iron plates set round the top of the tunnel to stop the wind blowing a down-draught or scattering burning matter around, thus decreasing the chances of a major fire.

In 1602 an 'ore house' was built, i.e. a store where the ore could be kept dry before it was used.

What fuel they used is doubtful, because there are references to coal (from the moors), peat and charcoal, going to the furnace. By 1603 the use of peat in English furnaces was not uncommon. Whether they were experimenting in the use of mixtures it is impossible to say.

In 1605 we have the first evidence in England of using slag from the forge process as part of the charge of the blast furnace (Be.No.881).

In 1616 a new furnace with a bridge-house was built (Be.No.534, Schubert p.197). A bridge-house was a building in which enough raw materials were stored to last at least the night. It was normally reached direct by an over-bridge from the top of the tunnel (where the furnace was charged).

In 1623 we again have the first known reference to an arched roof over the aperture where casting and blowing took place. The extract states: 'mending the furnace arch with clay and mortar' (Be.No.535, Schubert p.204).

In 1641 the manors of the Honour of Helmsley passed from the Rutlands to the Villiers (Buckingham), and the last reference we have to the furnace is dated 1647.

Before 1640 the furnace had been of great importance, but owing to the Royal Proclamation banning the use of wood in furnaces, the owners had to buy their own woods. Then the introduction of coal-fired blast furnaces dealt the final blow.

The following table gives a good idea of what was produced at Rievaulx (extracted from Schubert, Appendix X, pp.402-405). These figures are of the campaign lasting from Oct. 23rd 1591 to April 23rd 1592. The first fortnight is taken when the campaign was at its height; the second when the campaign was coming to a close.

Date 1591	Sows & Pigs Weights	Cast Ware	Weight	Total Weight
Dec. 11	16 cwt.	2 plaites for puttinge in the bottom of the fyneris	4 cwt.	
" 12	15 cwt.	2 plaites for the same use	4 cwt.	
" 13	20 cwt.			
" 14	19c. 2 st.			
" 15	14 c. 2 st.	2 plaites for the fineries	4 c. 6 st.	
" 16	14 c. 4 st.	2 plaites for same	5 c. 4 st.	16 tons
" 17	19 c. 6 st.			8 cwt.
" 18	19 c. 2 st.			
" 19	12 c. 2 st.	2 plaites for same	6 c. 2 st.	
" 20	20 cwt.			
" 21	19 c. 6 st.			
" 22	(19 c. 6 st.			
	(19 cwt.			
" 23	18 c. 6 st.			
" 24	19 cwt.			
" 25	18 cwts. 2 st.			
Feb. 19	18 cwt.			
" 20	20 cwt.			
" 21	20 cwt.			
" 22	19 cwt. 2 st.			
" 23	20 cwt.			
" 24	20 cwt.			
" 25	17 cwt.			
" 26	20 cwt.			
" 27	19 c. 2 st.			15 tons
" 28	19 c. 2 st.			4 cwt.
" 29	(16 cwt.	2 plaites being bottom)		6 st.
	(18 c. 2 st.	playtes weing 2 cwt. a pece		
Mar. 1	18 c. 2 st.	2 plates the one a bottom playt the other a sid(e) finerie plaite	5 cwt.	
" 2	14 c. 4 st.	2 plates	5 c. 2 st.	
" 3	(14 c. 2 st.	2 plaites	5 cwt.	
	(11 c. 6 st.	2 plaites	4 c. 4 st.	

(c) The Siting of the Forge.

The Forge was undoubtedly at Forge Farm (SE 576842), on the south side of the road where it crosses the 'canal'. There are two large mounds of mossers and other slag on either side of the canal. Next to the canal, on the west side, there is a flat area, empty of mossers, which was probably the site of at least part of the hearth-complex.

(d) The History of the Forge.

It was probably built at the same time as the Blast Furnace. We have no evidence for this save common sense. The blast furnace would be useless without the forge process to produce malleable iron from cast iron.

In 1578 a finer from Staffordshire was engaged to work at the forge. In 1581 there is the earliest recorded evidence (Be.No.528) for small pieces of iron placed under the bottom plate in the finery hearth. 'One rownde bar ende to make a stocke to hold uppe the plate lyenge upon thawer (the lower?) fynerye harthe'. The bottom plate was thus made to slope, the object of which was to allow superfluous slag, which rose to the top, to run towards the outlet. The cavity formed underneath the bottom plate allowed the bottom plate to be kept cool either by an air blast or a flow of water.

In 1613 the blast furnace was producing more than could be dealt with at the forge, and so a 'double' forge was erected. This consisted of three fineries, a chafery and two power hammers (Be.Nos.459,531). There was also a 'new house of the workmen to lie in at the forge'.

In 1615 a hammerman, also from Staffordshire, was engaged to work at the forge (Be.No.532). In 1636 Blow Harder and his man were brought from Staffordshire 'to worke a trial of Ribalx iron' (Be.No.537). In 1624-5, 'hamsla' or 'hamslowe' - i.e. slag from the process at the hammer - was added at the finery to help in refining (Be.No.529).

The forge undoubtedly closed down at the same time as the blast furnace, in or soon after 1647.

8. REVIEW

We have traced the history of the iron industry in Ryedale and Bilsdale. It began with the early medieval bloomeries, primitive and small-scale, still depending on the process used in prehistoric times, and supplying only enough iron for local needs. Like the jet miners, the smiths travelled to the source of their raw materials and worked there as long as supplies lasted.

By the end of the Middle Ages the supply of malleable iron depended on a few permanent bloomeries. This gave greater efficiency and output, especially with the use of water-power to drive bellows and hammers. Water-powered bellows in turn made greater heats possible in the hearth, and led ultimately to the cold-blast furnace.

The following century saw the small, independent bloomeries give way to a large blast furnace producing large quantities of iron to be sent all over the North of England from a warehouse on the Ouse at York. This furnace was the first in England to use a number of inventions and techniques brought over from the Continent, but after 70 years it was put out of business in its turn by restrictions on fuel and by the development of still newer techniques based on richer resources in the West Riding.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am very grateful for the help given to me by many people, including the farmers who allowed me to walk freely over their land; my especial thanks go to:

M. Y. Ashcroft (North Riding County Archivist); E. H. Boulton; J. B. Davies; M. Davies-Shiel; Dom Rupert Everest, O.S.B.; W. Goodall; Raymond H. Hayes; Dom Geoffrey Lynch, O.S.B.; J. McDonnell; J. S. Owen; A. L. Pacitto.

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Who was the donor of the St. William window in York Minster?

by O. E. Lazenby.

In writing about the St. William Window in York Minster, The Rev. Chancellor Harrison in his book 'The Painted Glass of York' page 103, suggests that the 'indispensable authority for an exhaustive study of this window, is a paper by Dr. James Fowler in the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal for the year 1874'. I was fortunate in being able to read this paper at the York Reference Library and noted how, with great care, Dr. Fowler describes every panel and its position in the window at that time. He also includes a description by James Torre, with a differing arrangement of the panels in his time, 1690. The descriptions and suggestions made by Dr. Fowler for alterations in the position of the panels are very interesting. In the year 1895, the whole window was removed by Mr. J. W. Knowles, and after restoration, was replaced as suggested by Dr. Fowler. In view of the uncertainty which seems to exist in this and other accounts as to the actual donor of the window, the following notes may clarify the matter.

In my enquiries into the history of the de Ros family, I was surprised to find in Cockayne's 'The Complete Peerage', Vol. XI, p. 102, that William (the father) was 6th Lord de Ros and not 7th as suggested in the accompanying references, and further, that William's wife was Margaret, but that John's wife was Margery. These are very interesting points and may require further detailed examination. The main purpose of this paper is to review the facts and try and establish the precise donor of the window in accordance with the relative panels therein displayed.

During the restoration of the window in 1954, it was found that practically all the donor panels were exactly as described by Dr. Fowler except perhaps panel 5. Dr. Fowler's order is as follows:-

L				R
1	2	3	4	5
John 8th Lord Ros and his wife Margaret	John eldest son of William 7th Lord de Ros and his wife Margaret	William and Thomas 2nd & 3rd sons of William 7th Lord de Ros	Robert and Richard 4th & 5th sons of William 7th Lord de Ros	Daughter or Daughters of William 7th Lord de Ros

In my view, it is in this panel (the 5th) that the main difficulties seem to arise. Although much disturbed prior to its restoration (1954) no suggestion of more than one figure existed and after removal of intruding alien pieces, the figure of a widowed Lady de Ros was revealed, kneeling at a prayer desk, accompanied by a dog;(1) which suggests a lady of high rank and not in the minor position of daughter. (Ref. A.B.D.)

The composition of this panel, showing as it does the widowed Lady de Ros with the full display of the de Ros arms on her mantle suggests very strongly that she can be no other than Margaret, wife of William the 7th Lord de Ros. (Ref. C.) If we next turn our attention to Panels 1 and 2, we will notice that Margaret wife of John the 8th Lord de Ros displays on her mantle the de Ros arms impaling the arms of Philip le Despencer (her father). As sole heiress of the Despencers she had the right to display these arms along with her husband's both before (panel 2) and after (panel 1) he had succeeded to the title.

If we were to suppose that this lady and the lady in panel 5 were one and the same person, we would expect her still to be displaying the two coats of arms on her mantle, which is not the case. (Ref. A. & B.) Panels 3 and 4 which show us the remaining four sons of William the 7th Lord de Ros, provide us, I think, with a little evidence as to the date of the glass. It is significant that three of the four are shown bareheaded, whilst the fourth, Thomas, (who succeeded to the title on the death of John) is shown wearing a chaplete. As we find, in panel 2, John also wearing a chaplete before he has succeeded to the title, it evidently denotes an heir presumptive. John and William his brother were killed in France in the same battle, 1420-1, therefore William never succeeded to the title. At this time Thomas was but $14\frac{1}{2}$ years of age. He was 18 years of age when he was named in Parliament as the 9th Lord de Ros. The window must have been erected sometime during those $3\frac{1}{2}$ years.

If there is sufficient evidence here to allow us to assume that Margaret Lady de Ros was indeed the donor of the window and gave it in memory of her husband William and her sons John and William, I would suggest that the donor panels should be re-arranged in the following order:-

L				R
1	2	3	4	5
Richard and Robert 4th & 5th sons of William 7th Lord de Ros	Thomas and Willaim 2nd & 3rd sons of William 7th Lord de Ros	John 8th Lord de Ros and Margaret his wife	John eldest son of William 7th Lord de Ros and Margaret his wife	Margaret wife of William 7th Lord de Ros

(1)Medieval effigies of a knight and his lady usually show the knight with a lion at his feet, and his lady with a dog.

In addition to the above-mentioned members of the de Ros family, were four daughters:-

Elizabeth married Lord Morley

Margaret married Lord Audley

Beatrice

Alice

References:-

A. Dr. James Fowler, F.S.A., Yorkshire Archaeological Journal Vol. 3, pp. 346-7.

B. Rev. Chancellor Harrison, F. S. A., The Painted Glass of York pp. 102-3.

C. John A. Knowles, F.S.A., Yorkshire Archaeological Journal Vol. 37 part 146, pp. 118-120.

D. G. McN. Rushforth, F.S.A., Medieval Christian Imagery, p. 52.

Notes on Ryedale Churches

6 Norman Heritage

by Cyril King.

When the Normans arrived in this country they found a considerable number of wooden churches as well as many well-built stone structures. A great number of the former were destroyed to make way for bigger and better churches built in stone, whilst most of the existing stone churches were altered, enlarged, or completely demolished and rebuilt. In addition, a great number of new churches were founded. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that much that is Norman has survived to this day, although in many instances remains are fragmentary. In our own district at least a score of churches have more or less substantial Norman remains and amongst these, the most complete - in fact one of the very few complete Norman churches in the whole of Yorkshire - is that at Salton.

Since Norman churches were dark, gloomy places, poorly lit by narrow "slit" windows placed high in the wall, (see Ryedale Historian No. 4) internal decoration was, in most churches, virtually non-existent. It is evident that elaborate sculpture would seldom be seen to advantage and so the walls and other internal architectural features of the church were usually very plain and uninteresting. There was, however, one notable exception and that was in the case of the chancel arch which was better lit by the high windows and here it was usual to employ more or less lavish decoration.

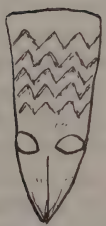
But however plain their churches were within, the Normans certainly made up for it upon the exterior. There is nothing to compare with the rich sculpture of a handsome Norman doorway, nor, for instance, with a highly decorative corbel table which ran the length of the church under the eaves, or there may have been a richly carved string course carried right round the church arching over the rounded window heads where these intercepted the band. Pillars were often incised with various motifs for their whole length whilst frequently carving was carried right down to the ground in door jambs. There is no doubt that Norman architecture has never since been surpassed for its richness of sculpture, nor for the ornate carvings of its components. In fact later styles tended to become plainer as mouldings took the place of the more ornate sculpture. It must also be remembered that Norman windows were very small - little more than slits - and that walls would indeed have been very plain without other embellishment. Later, as windows became larger, they in themselves provided the chief ornament and therefore the ornate sculpture of Norman times was no longer required and fell into disuse. (See also Ryedale Historian No. 4).

Detail of mask.

SALTON: SOUTH DOORWAY

Old Malton.

Detail of Mask.



MASKS, East Ayton.

SNAINTON

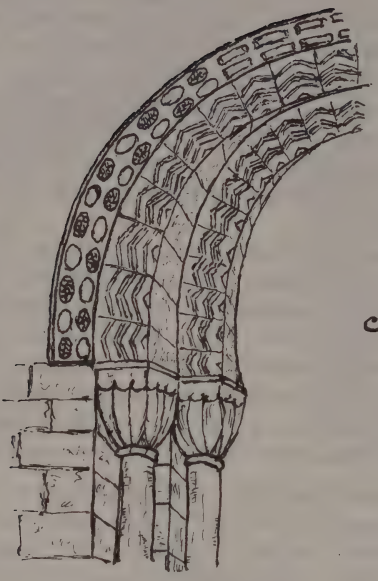
BEAK HEADS

A good deal of the elaborate Norman carving is still to be seen in many of the Ryedale churches, but unfortunately much of the former glory has vanished in decay and often we are left with weather-worn and mutilated carvings, nevertheless sufficient to give some indication of the extraordinary richness with which this work was invested. In order to see what this sort of sculpture really looked like, one must visit one of the great Norman cathedrals - of which there is no finer example than Durham - for here the carvings have not been exposed to the ravages of the weather and are to be seen almost as they were over 800 years ago.

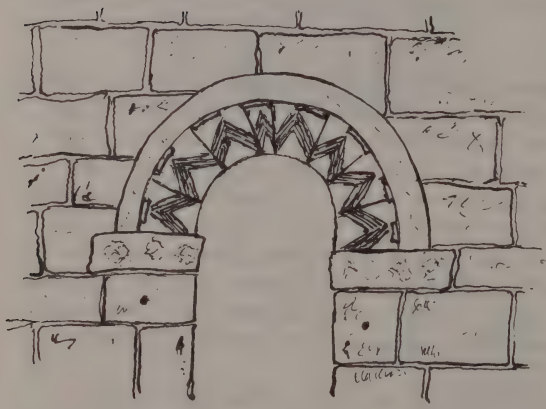
By far the most popular Norman ornament was chevron, or zig-zag, bands of which were carried round arches, or incised upon pillars, string courses and elsewhere. It occurs in at least half a dozen churches in Ryedale, including Helmsley itself, with its four magnificent orders of zig-zag round the south entrance, as well as upon the chancel arch. But perhaps the most beautiful sculpture ever to adorn our English churches was the curious, though somewhat bizarre motif called "Beak Head". This was usually carried round the arch of a doorway and consisted of a band of elongated heads of animals or birds, or even grotesque human caricatures. The nearest example of this sort of work occurs in the blocked north door at Ampleforth, but here the masks are so weathered that they are scarcely discernible. Much better examples are to be seen at Snainton - accompanied by bands of chevron - at East Ayton, and at Old Malton.

Other ornaments frequently employed included billet, spiral, lozenge, chain (round or oval), dog tooth (late Norman), pellet, and nail head which is really a miniature version of dog tooth, whilst capitals were frequently adorned with ramshorn, simple leaves, or may have been scalloped. All of these forms are to be seen in Ryedale. Often two or more patterns were combined, resulting in some of the most handsome Norman arches, such as in the chancel at Helmsley (chevron and chain), or arches may be invested with a hood which contrasts with the sculpture of the arch itself, again as in the chancel at Helmsley, or in the south entrance at Kilburn (three orders of chevron with a hood of billet).

The Norman church at Salton retains much of the characteristic sculpture of the period, and - as might be expected - more than in any other church in the district. Although most of it is weathered almost beyond recognition, with a little imagination one can recapture the splendour of the glorious south front as it stood when the church was new all those years ago. The doorway, although reduced to half its former glory,[1] is still one of the most handsome in the district and despite centuries of weathering, unprotected by a porch,[2] is even now of uncommon beauty. The outer order possesses a handsome band of beak head - in this case grotesque human caricatures - and is supported on pillars with carved capitals, whilst the inner has a double row of beak



CHANCEL ARCH



PRIEST'S DOOR

Note the narrow voussoir near the top of the arch (see note 3)

C. King
1970

SALTON

The holes in the jambs of the Priest's door just below the imposts, probably held the gnomons of former scratch dials.

heads which are carried right down the jambs to the ground. One can well imagine how even more imposing this doorway must have been when the missing orders were in place, for they too would doubtless have carried similar ornate sculpture.

The original corbel table with its grotesque heads is still in position, and runs the whole length of the church both sides, but again, weathering has defaced much of the detail. The priest's door is surrounded by a band of quintuple chevron with a hood of billet, whilst the small Norman windows are surrounded by incised concentric semicircles. Within the church, the chancel arch is one of the finest in the district and has two orders of zig-zag resting on pillars with carved capitals, and an elaborately carved hood of billet and large, oval pellet alternating with grapes.

When the church was new it would have had a thatched roof and almost certainly the exterior walls would have been painted or colour-washed, whilst the sculptured components, the window heads and jambs - and perhaps also the flat, pilastered buttresses - would have been left in natural stone, and these would have been high-lighted against the white background of the walls. Our ancient churches, as they stand today, must indeed be very drab and uninteresting compared with the gay, colourful exterior of the mediaeval church.

But not all Norman churches were enhanced by elaborate and well executed sculpture. Some were quite plain, and others - surprisingly - were very primitive. Examples of primitive Norman work occur at Scawton, Old Byland, Sinnington, and (especially) at Ellerburn. In the case of Scawton, known to have been built in 1147 at a time when Norman architecture had reached a high degree of perfection, the rude chancel arch suggests something much more primitive, and yet, in the same church we are faced with the south entrance - well executed orders of chevron and pellet - with compares favourably with the best of Norman work. This curious feature which has at various times perplexed so many observers, seems to me to admit of a fairly simple solution.

Although the church was built by the monks of Byland, it would seem much more likely that they employed less skilled builders to carry out the work - in all probability Saxon or Danish workers who had neither the craft nor the experience of Norman builders.[3] In order to explain the apparent anomaly of the south entrance, it must be remembered that in Norman times many of the architectural components of a church were pre-fabricated off the site.[4]

It would therefore appear that when the church was built, the monks left the greater part of the structure to the inferior local builders including the interior of the church, which, for reasons already explained, did not matter very much. Here the local builders erected the chancel arch,

more or less in their own style. But the exterior, which DID matter, and especially the chief ornament of the exterior - the main entrance - would almost certainly have been prefabricated - perhaps at Byland - by a Norman master mason and then taken to the site to be erected by the local builders.

At Old Byland there is a chancel arch faced with well executed moulded orders though without ornament. The responds, however, have rudely fashioned corner pillars and capitals upon which are carved primitive ramshorn - a characteristic Norman ornament - and masks which seem to be Saxon rather than Norman. Sinnington seems to be another instance of this curious mixture of Norman and more primitive workmanship, especially in respect of its blocked west doorway which is more reminiscent of Saxon work both in its siting (Saxon builders favoured a west entrance), and in style. Stonegrave has also traces of a blocked west entrance with rude jambs, and in addition, in the spandrels of the Norman arcade (north aisle) are carved masks which are without doubt of Saxon design. Again, here is evidence of Saxon influence in a Norman church.

Ellerburn is even more interesting, for here the sculpture upon the massive piers of the chancel arch is a mixture of three different styles. The piers themselves, with the rudely fashioned corner pillars, and the massive impost stones with crude corner capitals and abaci over, bring to mind primitive Saxon workmanship, yet the impost (north and the abacus (south) each carry a single band of rudely incised chevron. Although this is exclusively a Norman ornament, here it is not the handsome chevron of the Normans, but seems to have been executed by an unskilled amateur - again suggesting Saxon or Danish workmanship. But what is even more curious are the rude scrolls upon the capitals and bases of the corner pillars, for this appears to be a hangover from Anglian times - at any rate the carving is reminiscent of Anglian style - and it would seem that here in Ellerburn a pocket of Saxons - or perhaps even, the remnant of a British community - has lived more or less in isolation for centuries. Here they have preserved their own tradition which is reflected in the church which they built under the Norman taskmasters. It was these people who left behind them their own traditional style interwoven with the new, all the more remarkable that it remains until now for us to wonder at this instance of survival of a very early culture.

The contrast between the handsome and well executed work such as occurs in the chancel arches at Helmsley, Kilburn and Salton, and the more primitive styles is indeed puzzling. Always there seems to be this division between the primitive and the mature, and all too often the difference has been explained by attributing the one style to "early" and the other to "late" Norman - a convenient arrangement but, unfortunately, not altogether true as has been shown in some of the instances already quoted. All the evidence shows that rather than a difference of period, the conflicting styles are the result of different builders - the

difference between local, traditional work [5] and the superior style introduced by the new settlers from the continent. The former must have persisted for some considerable time after the Norman Conquest - up to a century - especially in remote areas, and this would account for the primitive "Norman" work frequently met with in our own district. It was, of course, the latter who bequeathed to us the heritage of Norman churches with their rich ornamentation. But above all, Norman architecture is known for the handsome carvings of double, triple or even quintuple bands of chevron, and for its beak heads which adorn many an archway, not only in Ryedale, but all over Yorkshire, and indeed, in every part of the country.

Notes

1. Now of two orders, but certain remains suggest that it once had three or four orders.

2. The presence of a hood shows that it was not intended to provide a porch when the church was built.

3. It must also be remembered that a start on the great abbey church of Byland had been made at this time. It would seem certain that the master craftsmen would be employed at the major site, leaving the building of Scawton church to less skilled labour.

4. Note that in the case of arches which carry a sculptured pattern, each of the voussoirs forming the arch is interchangeable with any other without altering the overall pattern; in other words, each of the stones carries an identical portion of the general pattern and may be fitted together in any order to form the continuous design. This is, of course, particularly apparent in the case of chevron and is very clearly demonstrated in the arch over the priest's door at Salton. Here, one of the voussoirs is very much narrower than the remaining seven, yet this very narrow stone could be placed anywhere in the arch without affecting the continuity of the design. Had the carving been carried out after erection, this would not, of course, have been possible.

5. It will be remembered that pre-Conquest building in the north was developed from the Celtic style and is therefore much inferior to contemporary work in other parts of the country. (see also Ryedale Historian No. 5).

Ampleforth & Oswaldkirk Marriage Horizons

by Rev. Patrick Rowley, Vicar of Ampleforth

In the Local Population Studies Magazine, for Spring 1969, ar article entitled "Easingwold Marriage Horizons" was published. It was an analysis of the distance people travelled to find their marriage partners, and it threw some light on how mobile people were in the 17th and 18th centuries. At the end of the article, the author (who has done a great deal of work on Register analysis, literacy counts, etc.) suggested that it would be interesting to know whether other parishes showed the same patterns as Easingwold.

The present writer, who has spent quite a lot of time transcribing Parish Registers in the Deanery of Helmsley, offers this study of the Ampleforth & Oswaldkirk Marriage Registers, as a sequel to the original study of the Easingwold Registers.

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Marriage Registers can be used to discover the residence of the marriage partners, and as it appears to have been the custom for the wedding to take place in the bride's parish, it is chiefly the husbands from other parishes that can be traced from the Registers.

Although Marriages have been recorded at Oswaldkirk since 1538, it was not until the beginning of the 18th century that the parish of residence is stated. And though the Ampleforth Marriage records do not begin as early as Oswaldkirk's, it is not until the beginning of the 18th century that the parish of residence is given.

It is also assumed that where no parish of residence is stated for either the bride or the groom, they both lived in their own parish. Sometimes the words 'both of this parish' were added by the clerk, but not consistently. A study of the names of baptised children, bears out the assumption that where no place of origin is stated in the Marriage Register, both parties were resident in their own parish.

It must also be stated here that, because of the irregular boundaries between Ampleforth and Oswaldkirk - until they were straightened out in 1878 - no mention is made for the purposes of this study, of partners married at Oswaldkirk, but coming from Ampleforth, or vice versa, of partners married at Ampleforth, but coming from Oswaldkirk. They are regarded as being 'of this parish'. In fact, it would be quite impossible to distinguish the two parishes or origin in very many cases.

The study of the Easingwold Marriages Registers (1644-1812) showed that out of a total of 920 marriages, 241 involved a partner coming from up to 10 miles away, i.e. 23%. There were 68 partners who came from over 10 miles and up to 20 miles away, i.e. 7%, and there were another 32 who travelled over 20 miles, i.e. 3%.

In the Table below, the figures for Ampleforth and Oswaldkirk up to 1812 are set beside the Easingwold figures, for comparison.

	Number of Marriages			Proportion of all Marriages		
	Easing-wold	Ample-forth	Oswald-kirk	E	A	O
Partner from up to 10 miles away	241	25	57	23%	12%	31%
Partner from over 10 & up to 20 miles	68	4	13	7%	3%	7%
Partner from over 20 miles away	32	1	8	3%	0.5%	3%

The similarity between the percentages for Easingwold and Oswaldkirk is striking and contrasts markedly with the Ampleforth figures.

The table only shows the numbers of marriages involving partners from outside the parish. At Oswaldkirk, in the same period, there were 103 marriages of partners both of whom lived in Oswaldkirk. The figure for Ampleforth is 88.

An interesting contrast between the figures given in the table for Ampleforth and Oswaldkirk, is that of the 30 partners who came from away to marry at Ampleforth, 3 were women, whereas the comparable figures for Oswaldkirk are, of the 78 partners who came from away, 20 were women.

A similar contrast is also apparent from a study of the number of parishes within a 20 mile radius, from which people came to find their partners. Ampleforth brides chose men from only 12 parishes within this radius, whilst Oswaldkirk brides chose men from as many as 34 parishes - a much wider field.

If we widen the area to beyond 20 miles, we find only one partner coming from such a distance to Ampleforth, but as before, Oswaldkirk has a wider field, and we find partners coming from as many as 8 different parishes.

Further indications that the two villages were quite differently orientated, as far as choice of marriage partners is concerned, comes from the following list, which shows that Oswaldkirk's lines of communication were more to the east, whilst Ampleforth seems to have had more contact westwards, thus:

Parish	Number of partners from parishes within a ten-mile radius	
	Oswaldkirk	Ampleforth
Helmsley	11	5
Kirkbymoorside	4	nil
Nunnington	2	nil
Stonegrave	2	nil
Kirkdale	5	nil
Gilling	4	3
Hovingham	6	nil
Coxwold	4	1
Kilburn	4	8

The last figure, for Kilburn, is very significant, and it indicates that there were more ties with Kilburn than other villages nearer at hand.

The reason for this series of contrasts between Ampleforth and Oswaldkirk, is almost certain to lie in the fact that all the above villages, with the exception of Kilburn, had strong local landlords who owned all the land and houses within each village, and who could, therefore, choose their tenants. Ampleforth never had a squire, and all the land and property was either free-hold or copy-hold. One consequence of this was that people who fell foul of the landlord on neighbouring estates, could find a refuge in Ampleforth, and many Ampleforth people made a living out of poaching on neighbouring estates.

Thus it becomes apparent that men from Ampleforth in search of a bride, rarely went to the next door parishes, where they were unwelcome, but to places like Kilburn where they had more in common with the villagers.

I hope that this study will lead to further work and research into the "Marriage Horizons" of our forefathers.

Two Notes on the "Manor House", Harome

(I) HAROME HALL, THE OLD MANOR HOUSE by J. Hurst.

The demolition of the manor house in 1971 and its reconstruction, now completed, in the grounds of Ryedale Folk Museum, have brought unexpected bonuses. Among them three seem to me to be of particular interest. The first concerns Harome and Harome Hawe. Until the latter site is excavated there can be no certainty, but from documentary evidence it now seems clear that the site we know as Harome Hawe was always part of the Helmsley manor, never of the Harome manor, that the de Harums held their manor at Harome direct from the King from 1100 or earlier until about the middle of the 14th century and that their dwelling house was on the site of the Harome Hall we know. Not until long after the de Harums left Harome and their manor had become part of the Helmsley manor was the name Harome Hawe used for the place which had always previously been known as Le Haughe. The de Harums never had any connection with Le Haughe as far as can be seen. There is documentary evidence of Templar and St. John of Jerusalem connection with the Harome territory and it would not be surprising if Le Haughe were found to be a Templar foundation.

The second bonus comes from a document which Mr. Bertram Frank, the curator of the Museum, found when he was dismantling a wall of the Hall. It was in a hole which had been plastered over and it was in good condition. It was obviously a Manor Court document, entitled "Sparrow Money 1812-13". It consists of a list of names, almost certainly of children, who presented dead sparrows to the collector and received one half-penny in return for each bird. This would have been a very costly sparrow pie if that had been the intention. It almost certainly throws light on an interesting practice which went back to the time of Queen Elizabeth, for in her reign a statute was passed enabling each parish to levy a rate for the destruction of vermin, and this statute remained in force until 1863. Payments were made for the heads of foxes, stoats, weasels, carrion crows and other vermin and sometimes sparrow heads and rat tails were included. Sparrows caused havoc in hay and corn stacks and in all thatch, and the methods of catching them were many and varied. A popular one which is still remembered was a trap consisting of a corn sieve, with string attached, balanced on a hay fork. Corn had already been strewn on the ground beneath the sieve so that when a suitable number of sparrows were busy on the corn the string was pulled and they were caught. Some of the children in the list were not very good at the job or were only interested when they wanted a half-penny. Some brought six or seven but one boy whose name appears five times presented on each occasion one sparrow and each time he received a halfpenny it was recorded.

The third bonus could have been cast aside as worthless had it not been for the caution of Mr. Frank. Whilst the old thatch was being pulled off the roof of the Hall, a black, dirt-encrusted spoon was found. It was at first thought to be tin, possibly pewter, and not until much later was a proper attempt to clean it made by Mr. Frank. Interest and excitement grew as it became obvious that it was silver and when experts confirmed that it was indeed of very early date it was reported to the police as possible treasure trove. We have had no decision on that score as yet. The spoon is a splendid example of the spoons of the 15th and 16th centuries. It is 6" long and its weight is $1\frac{1}{2}$ ounces. The bowl is fig-shaped and shallow, designed to lift food rather than liquids. It is hammered from one piece of metal escept that a decorative gilt writhen knop is soldered into the end of the stem. The stem itself is hexagonal, tapering towards the knop.

The hall marks are quite clear. There are only three marks, a crowned leopard's head, a date mark and the maker's mark. The so called lion mark which is such a feature of later silver was first introduced about 1545 so it was soon realised that the spoon was very early. The London Goldsmiths' mark and the date mark together fixed the date of the spoon as 1510-11. The maker's mark is not known.

How the spoon came to be in the thatch is the mystery we can all speculate on. The house appears to have taken on its present form towards the end of the 16th century. A family called Morrett occupied it from the early 1600's until the 1640's, possibly later. Certain features of the house seem to indicate that the occupiers at this time were people of substance. The land attached to the house comprised more than 300 acres in 1642, a good sized holding at any time. The Morretts could well have owned such a valuable spoon, possibly a set of them. And what more natural than that a widow, Mrs. Marie Morrett, the tenant in 1642, should hide her valuables in the thatch when those wild, short-haired soldiers of Cromwell were besieging the castle in Helmsley in 1644?

Note: The documentary evidence referred to is mainly from the records of the Earls of Rutland held in Belvoir Castle, and from those of the Duncombe estate held in the County Archives at Northallerton.

(2) EXCAVATIONS AT THE OLD MANOR HOUSE by R. H. Hayes.

During the dismantling of the ruined building some excavations took place, though very limited in extent, and at times hazardous through falling roof timbers.

It was noted that the present 3-cruck, 4-bay house showed no signs of the usual cross-passage, and the crucks were larger and wider than

any pairs measured in Ryedale. They stood on the level of the flagged floor of the hall and had not, as often happened, been re-used. Wall paintings in the solar were dated by Dr. E. A. Gee to about 1610 A.D., and he thought the timber framework of the solar had been re-used about the same time.

Evidence from the excavations showed a complicated post-hole pattern under the solar, though aligned with the south gable wall. The post-holes were 6" diameter and some 12-14" deep; some had decayed wood at the base. There were two rows of them, 5 ft. apart, and spaced about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from each other. They lay under a mass of fallen tiles and limestone roofing slates. Pottery of the 14th to 17th centuries lay around them and under the floor-boards. Some Georgian and Victorian material was found at a higher level.

Under the large flags of the hall, towards the south-east side, excavation revealed a large fire-pit where cooking had taken place. The hook of a cauldron, burnt animal bones, broken red tiles and limestone slates lay in the pit. Pottery from the 12th to the 16th century was stratified under the flags, including a fine glazed jug of the 13th century and cooking pot sherds of the same period, but also a few fragments of Cistercian ware, one from a post-hole. Post-holes here were not as plentiful or as regular as under the solar. Another hearth was found towards the north end.

When the east and south walls were removed, several finely worked Norman stones were found - parts of a round arch which have now been built into the reconstruction - along with a curious cage-like oak frame (perhaps part of a window?) and two pieces of nail-head moulding of early 13th century date. Packed between the Norman stones was the base of a 16-17th century stoneware vessel, indicating the rebuilding of the wall at this period. The east wall had deep footings, in one place 4-5 ft. below the present surface. Only about one third of the hall area was excavated as part of the building was still standing, and heaps of rubble lay over the rest.

It appears, therefore, that an earlier building of the early Norman period had good ashlar work, with slated roof or red tiles with nibs and peg holes to hang on laths. Timber buildings followed up to the 16th-17th century, the last on crucks. This became the farmhouse that survived until the 20th century.

Fortunately in 1952 the late Mr. W. Beecroft, the first secretary of the Helmsley Group, asked me to take a set of photos of the derelict building before the interior was gutted. Plans and descriptions of the former building will be published in 1972 in a major report on cruck houses in Ryedale, by the Scarborough Archaeological Society; and a booklet on the Hall and its reconstruction will be published by the Trustees of the Ryedale Folk Museum during the year.

Reviews

D. M. Palliser: The Reformation in York, 1534-1553. Borthwick Papers No. 40. July 1971

In this fascinating account of the effects of the Reformation in the city of York during a span of barely twenty years, Mr. Palliser has brought together many hitherto hidden strands of history, and made an analysis of the religious temper of the times, by a close study of the available wills of the citizens of York.

News of King Henry's intention to suppress the monasteries had already reached the North of England early in 1536, following the passing of the York Chantries Act by Parliament. The great wave of popular feeling in favour of the monasteries, culminating in the Pilgrimage of Grace, led by Robert Aske, was a warning to the government. The Rising caused great alarm in London, but ended peacefully when the King tricked the leaders into surrender, though Robert Aske and a few others were hanged in York in July 1538 as a warning to other rebels.

The following year, all the city's religious houses were suppressed, and the monks and nuns expelled with a pension. Apart from the destruction of the monastic buildings, there was also the loss to the world of learning of many fine libraries. The library of the Augustinian priory alone contained 646 volumes of which only 8 are known to have survived. Of the other monastic libraries, almost nothing remains today. Another consequence of the dissolution was the disappearance of the city's grammar schools, and further, as the ownership of monastic property now passed into private hands (it is estimated that one quarter of the private houses of the city belonged to the various religious communities), much upheaval must have been caused to the tenants.

In spite of all these momentous changes, Mr. Palliser shows that the prevailing spirit of the city was one of religious conservatism, at any rate among those who made wills. Bequests were still made to religious gilds for Church furnishings, and above all, for prayers for the dead.

With the death of King Henry, and the new reign of Edward VI in 1547, all of the 100 chantries within the city (mostly in the Minster) all the parish gilds, most Church goods, and some of the hospitals, disappeared. Coupled with this, one third of the remaining city churches were suppressed. Five of these churches were sold to members of the Corporation for as little as 20s., and the mayor bought one for 10s. In 1549 the government confiscated the gold and silver of the parish gilds,

and all the treasure and plate of the Minster was seized at the same time, and surrendered to the royal Mint. About the same time the remaining parish churches were stripped of their shrines, images, jewels and plate. This new wave of destruction in the Great Pillage probably affected the ordinary citizens of York more than the closure of the monasteries. It is not surprising, therefore, that feeling towards the government and its agents was bitter, leading to the murder of at least two of the new owners of confiscated Church property, in 1553.

By a close study of the bequests of York citizens' wills of this Edwardian period, Mr. Palliser shows that there was still a sturdy religious conservatism, even though the government was clearly becoming more and more protestant. People were still leaving money for an anchoress who had been turned out of her cell at Bishophill ten years before, and a notary left a conditional bequest to the Church of St. Michael le Belfrey "if it fortune the Rood light to be set up again".

In 1553 Protestant-type wills (omitting any reference to Our Lady and the Saints, and prayers for the departed, but simply leaving the soul to God, and trusting to be saved only through the merits of Christ's passion) appeared for the first time. This was ten years after the adoption of such a formula elsewhere in the country.

Nearly all the available evidence, from wills, epitaphs, and other records, suggests a deeply conservative city, unresponsive to the Protestantism which was taking hold elsewhere in England. And, as Mr. Palliser shows, York was only part of a conservative region. The widespread support for the Pilgrimage of Grace in the North and East Ridings in 1536, and the fact that as late as 1570, nearly two thirds of the Yorkshire gentry were still Catholics, speaks for itself about the conservatism of the area.

There is little wonder that when Queen Mary Tudor tried to undo the work of the Reformers, and earned the hatred of the Londoners, she seriously thought of moving her capital from Protestant London to Catholic York. Mr. Palliser has clearly shown us why.

Patrick Rowley.

K. J. Bonser: The Drovers: who they were and how they went: an epic of the English countryside. Macmillan 1970.

This book has compressed into rather more than two hundred pages a great amount of information about the drovers of Britain. These were the men who drove cattle from the far north and west to the markets and slaughterhouses of England, particularly of course the 'great wen' of London, the new industrial centres and - by no means least - the Navy victualling yards during the Napoleonic period. Here is the answer to where all that salt beef came from; it walked, often from Scotland, guarded by drovers and their dogs, along the numerous routes which Mr. Bonser's maps show us. Traces of these routes are still with us - though one might suppose that nothing was more ephemeral than a cow-pat - and can be seen, for example, in the extra wide verges on the B1363 between Sutton on the Forest and York, or the wide market-places in towns like Northallerton.

The period covered is roughly the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth. Previous to this, cattle movement was largely cattle-stealing, and in any case the towns and cities of England could still in general be supplied from their immediate hinterlands; and after the great expansion of the railways during the nineteenth century - and the invention of cold storage - the need for droving lapsed. Nonetheless there were very recently men still alive who could remember the last droving in the remoter districts. Mr. Bonser has taken some trouble over assembling the material on the reasons behind this great traffic, on its economic aspects and on its extant traces, some of which are illustrated. There are chapters on detailed matters too, like shoes for cattle, turnpikes and cattle plague, and the author even contrives to bring in ballads and songs about the drovers. There is a bibliography of some 250 items, though its value is a little limited because it is simply a list of titles. However, if the book is read in sequence the footnotes provide the necessary links.

It is not perhaps a book which anyone would read for general interest, because the matter is specialised, and the manner rather detailed. But anyone who is interested in the grass-roots of economic history, in unusual aspects of local history (notably the Scottish borders and Welsh marshes, Yorkshire, East Anglia or the counties north of London), or in the general question of the growth of communication and transport, would find this book informative and rewarding. It is comparable to Haldane's The Drove Roads of Scotland, but perhaps casts a less fine net more widely; it could be argued that the broad argument is less clear, and that Mr. Bonser is possibly more dependent on secondary material. Nonetheless it is likely that this book will remain for a good time the standard work on this particular side-road of history: the traffic not being very heavy - certainly not in droves - it will be some while before anyone need worry about resurfacing.

Anselm Cramer, O.S.B.

Arthur Wigley & Sons Ltd., The Waverley Press, Leeds LS6 2RT


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